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ABSTRACT

This book grew from a working conference on "Citizenship for the 21st Century." The purpose of the conference was to develop specific recommendations to guide the Foundation for Teaching Economics (FTE) and the Constitutional Rights Foundation (CRF) in their efforts to improve civic education for young adolescents. The conferees reached consensus on a number of content themes and the project's central premise: that instruction about the United States' political, economic, legal, and social systems can and should be integrated into the civics curriculum taught in grades 8 and 9. The six chapters of the book are entitled: (1) "Toward Civic Renewal"; (2) "The Idea of Citizenship"; (3) "Policy-Oriented Instruction: Requisite Condition for Effective Citizenship"; (4) "The Young Adolescent: Developmental Implications for Civics Instruction"; (5) "The Acquisition of Civic Understanding in Early Adolescence"; and (6) "A Model for Integrating Knowledge." Appendices offer definitions of political, legal, economic, and social concepts for civic education and a listing of members of the steering committee involved in this publication. (EH)

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NEW HORIZONS FOR CIVIC EDUCATION

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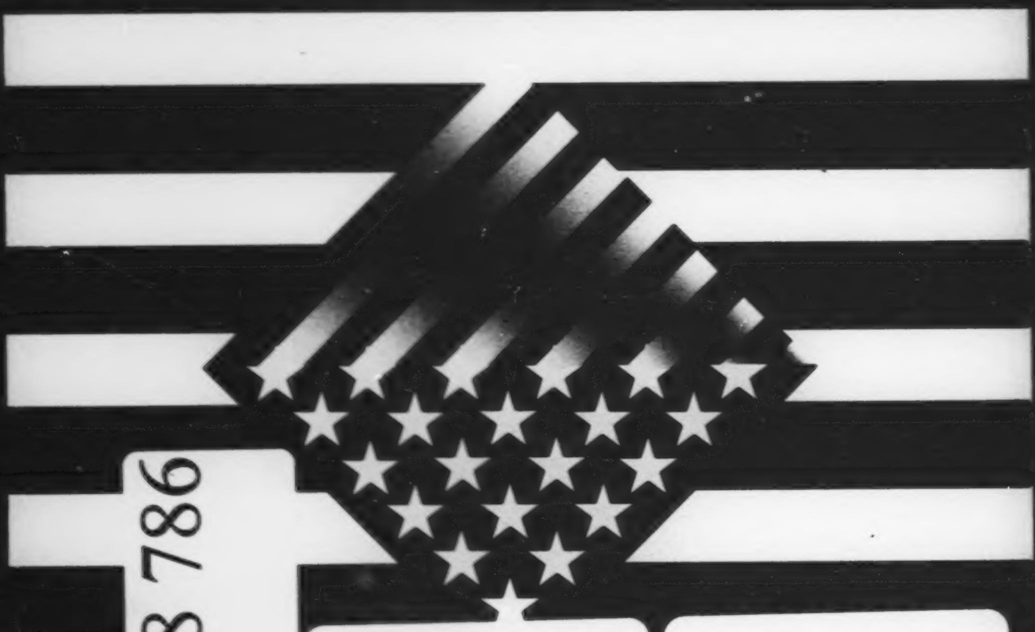

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Foundation for Teaching Economics
Constitutional Rights Foundation

NEW HORIZONS IN CIVIC EDUCATION

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A publication in the series

OUR DEMOCRACY: How America Works

Foundation for Teaching Economics
Constitutional Rights Foundation

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Preface

As a major advocate of economic education in Grades 7 to 12, the Foundation for Teaching Economics (FTE) is committed to giving adolescents an understanding of how our economy works in order to prepare them to be economically literate voters, wise consumers, and productive citizens of our society.

Recognizing that economic literacy is one of the cornerstones of civic literacy, the FTE began several years ago to investigate the educational implications of linking more closely the study of our nation's political, economic, legal, and social systems. This research confirmed that early adolescence is an especially appropriate time to introduce the fundamental ideas of a democratic society. Further, the traditional civics course generally offered in grade 8 or 9 was found to focus primarily on the structure and function of the federal government and had lost favor among both teachers and students.

After receiving support and encouragement from educators around the nation, the FTE invited the Constitutional Rights Foundation (CRF) to co-sponsor **Our Democracy: How America Works**, a national effort to create a new, multidisciplinary approach for teaching civic literacy to young adolescents. The Our Democracy project is exploring ways to present a more realistic and practical view of how our citizens, systems, and institutions function dynamically together— in concert and in opposition—to meet individual, community, and national needs. Its goal is to provide the nation's schools with a more effective civics course that will equip young students with the knowledge, skills, and attitudes essential to good citizenship.

To launch the project, the FTE and the CRF sponsored a major national conference on the future of civic education entitled Citizenship for the 21st Century. Nearly one hundred nationally-recognized educators, scholars, and educational policy-makers participated in this prestigious three-day working conference. Their charge was to develop specific recommendations to guide the FTE and the CRF in their effort to improve civic education for young adolescents. Despite the variety of viewpoints represented, the conferees reached consensus on a number of content themes, including a strong endorsement of the Our Democracy project's central premise: That instruction about the United States' political, economic, legal, and social systems can and should be integrated into the civics curriculum taught in grades 8 and 9.

The FTE and the CRF wish to extend their sincere thanks to the people who participated in the Our Democracy project. We are especially grateful to the Pacific Telesis Foundation for their generous contributions that made the conference and the publication of this volume possible.

Dr. Ronald A. Banaszak

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Toward Civic Renewal

Daily headlines chronicle the advance of democratic ideals around the world. Meaningful elections are held in Poland and even the Soviet Union. East Germany merges with the West German democracy. Communist governments fall throughout eastern Europe. Ironically at a time of such triumph for democratic ideals around the world, voices of concern are raised about the quality of democratic citizenship within the leading advocate of democracy in the world, the United States of America.

Its citizens seem to be forgetting the fundamental relationship of citizens and their government in a democracy. Citizens of a participatory democracy have many rights and receive many benefits. In return, they are asked to assume important civic responsibilities. American citizens must participate and make informed decisions as voters and political activists, witnesses and jurors, workers, consumers and savers/investors, and volunteers in religious, cultural, educational and other activities. To fulfill these fundamental civic duties, an individual must be knowledgeable about and competent in our nation's political, legal, economic and social systems.

Disengaged Citizens

Democratic citizenship requires individuals to balance rights and obligations. Citizenship rights are those prerogatives—political, economic, legal and social—one enjoys through the agency of the state. These rights are balanced by obligations citizens must assume to keep the polity effective and prevent tyranny. Civic duties include paying taxes, obeying the law, educating one's family, voting, serving jury duty, pursuing voluntary activity and promoting the welfare of the community. By these standards, however, ever fewer individuals qualify as good citizens.

Effective practice of citizenship is a complex matter. It involves not only reciprocal rights and obligations, but also the knowledge, skills and attitudes individuals need to protect and fulfill them. The domain of citizenship is not limited to government and politics. It encompasses roles and responsibilities within the economic, legal, and social systems as well. Active civic participation and intelligent decision making require a working knowledge of how our systems function, an abiding commitment to the values underlying them, and the possession of a wide array of interpersonal and intellectual skills.

National evaluations of how well U.S. citizens understand and carry out their civic responsibilities have not proved reassuring. Study after study has revealed declining participation, growing civic illiteracy and wide-spread public attitudes which threaten the long-term health and vitality of our democracy.

Increasingly uninformed and disengaged citizens poses a fundamental threat to our democracy. With adults practicing citizenship poorly, students—the future stewards of democracy—are left without effective citizen role models to emulate. Schools cannot solve all these problems, but neither can they use that reality to avoid their obligation to do the best they can to educate their students to be effective citizens in the 21st century.

Declining Voter Participation

The franchise is the most basic of democratic rights, and arguably the simplest citizenship responsibility to fulfill. Yet, among all the world's democracies, the United States ranks last in voter turnout. Moreover, despite myriad attempts to ease technical barriers to registration and voting and to enfranchise new groups, turnout in presidential elections declined over 20 percent between 1960 and 1988.

In the past, it was possible to gloss over this percentage decline by noting that the total number of votes cast steadily increased from election to election, but this is no longer the case. In 1988, for only the second time in U.S. history, fewer votes were cast than in the preceding presidential election. The only other time this happened was in 1944, when millions of Americans were overseas fighting World War II.

In 1960, the United States had the highest turnout (62.8% of eligible Americans) since women were granted the franchise in 1920. That turnout was lower than most democracies, but it was assumed that if the U.S. enfranchised African Americans in the South and liberalized the registration system, voting turnout would rise to approximate the turnout of many other democracies who share a lack of class consciousness and have a complex rather than a simple parliamentary democracy.

Since 1960, the U.S. has enfranchised African Americans and liberalized voting laws. Elections have become more competitive, and the demographic factors supposed to enhance turnout—age, education and mobility—have all been pointing toward an increase, but voter turnout has dropped 20 percent (Gans, 1990). "In the last two decades, fully 20 million people have dropped out of the political process" (Gans, 1988, 72). If current trends persist, non-voters will soon constitute a majority of the electorate.

In 1986, over 104 million did not vote. In California, the most populous U.S. state, fewer than 60 percent of those registered voted in 1986. Even more disturbing is the fact that during 1986 only 43.3 percent of those *eligible* to register to vote in California did so. This is a decline of almost 30 percentage points since 1960 and reflects an alarming national trend ("U. S. Has the World's Worst Voting Rate," 1987).

The future of government of, for and by the people is clearly in danger. Even among the youngest voters, participation is declining. Less than half of the eligible 18-21 year-olds voted in the 1972 presidential election, and the turnout in this age group has steadily declined ever since. In the 1986 election, 16.6 percent of eligible 18-24 year olds voted, fully 20 percentage points lower than the national average. The election of 1988 drew only about one-third of our youngest voters to the polls. Young people are the only newly enfranchised group which has had a decline in voting after enfranchisement.

A 1976 survey of non-voters found that the dominant emotion reflected was alienation. Recent studies of the political attitudes of youth by Stephen Bennett of the University of Cincinnati, Cox Newspapers and Peter Hart for People for the American Way confirm that among the young, indifference is now the dominant attitude underlying non-voting. The voting participation of our youth, which is 40 to 60 percent lower than the rest of the electorate, poses a distinct danger for democracy in the future.

Increasing Detachment

In other ways, the electorate has expressed its detachment from the electoral process. The Markel Commission's study of the 1988 Presidential campaign provides sobering insights into the state of the electorate. The Markel Commission found citizens had "abdicated" their role in the electoral process. "American voters do not seem to understand their rightful place in the operation of American democracy" (8). Besides low voter turnout the Commission found:

- public indifference, lack of knowledge and political apathy are at an all time high (9);
- voter ignorance of the candidates, issues and candidate stands on issues is equally appalling (10);
- Americans, despite clear evidence of their mental agility and historic sense of citizen duty, regard themselves as distan outsiders with little personal consequence at stake in national elections (12); and
- most citizens were not sufficiently well-informed to recognize distortion of the truth by candidates (9-13).

Perhaps the most damning conclusion of the commission is the massive indifference of voters about their own ignorance. The Commission comments that "Voter ignorance is not news. . . . What is new and disturbing, however, is the seeming lack of concern about their own ignorance" (14).

Distrust of Institutions

Citizens in the United States also exhibit distressingly cynical and distrustful attitudes toward civic institutions and their leaders. In recent polls conducted by

Harris, *Washington/Post* and *USA Today*, large majorities agreed that members of Congress "will lie if they feel the truth will hurt them politically," "care more about special interests than ordinary people" and "improperly profit from their positions" (Morin and Balz, 1989; Harris, 1989; Minzesheimer, 1989). In the wake of executive scandals from Watergate to Irangate, public perceptions of the presidency depend more than ever on the particular incumbent and the political climate at the time the question is posed. Levels of confidence in the Supreme Court are likewise tied increasingly to specific decisions.

In 1966, one in three voters thought their voices didn't count, but according to a Harris poll, now two out of three share that view (Green, 1989).

National opinion polls reveal widespread public dissatisfaction with government. "By margins of greater than five to one, Americans believe that the public sector is run less efficiently than the private sector and that government employees work less diligently than do their private counterparts. When asked how much of federal government spending is wasted, the median response is nearly 50 percent (Frieden, 1987). "Everyone seems to agree that government is too big. In 1980, ...78 percent of Americans believed that government wasted a lot of money, and only 2 percent thought that not much was wasted" (Frieden, 1987, 321). Researchers at the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center, in a series of evaluations of performance in government service agencies, determined that more than 70 percent of the clients reported a successful outcome in their own cases, felt they were treated fairly in personal encounters and thought the agency had functioned efficiently for them. But only 30 to 42 percent gave government offices generally good marks on taking care of problems, treating citizens fairly, providing prompt service (Frieden, 1987,).

Although the public gives most of the credit for the prosperity of the 1980s to American business, it is hardly sanguine about the influence of the business community and has deep misgivings about business ethics. More than two-thirds of the adult population believe that business "has gained too much power over too many aspects of American life" and that business has benefitted more than consumers from deregulation. Nearly two-thirds believe that businesses would engage in price gouging—and near-majorities believe that it would deliberately harm the environment or endanger the health and safety of workers and the public at large—in order to turn a profit.

As a nation, U.S. citizens are increasingly cynical about the institutions that define and support our democracy. They have little confidence in the motives of business and political leaders and grave misgivings about the effectiveness of government.

A Lack of Civic Knowledge

Many American citizens lack basic knowledge about political and economic institutions and contemporary issues. A 1986 Roper organization study concluded that only about 35 percent of the public qualified as well-informed about politics, while only three percent could be deemed well-informed with respect to business and economics.

A national survey sponsored by the Hearst Corporation concludes "...the public has neither adequate factual or conceptual knowledge of the U.S. Constitution. Without this knowledge, they cannot fully understand the constitutional issues that are debated in courts of law every day and which directly affect each and every one of us" (Bennack, 1987, 8).

In a national survey conducted for the Hearst Corporation in 1986, 82 percent of respondents mistakenly identified Lincoln's "government of the people, by the people, for the people," as part of the Constitution, and 45 percent thought Marx's "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need" is found in the Constitution. Forty-nine percent of respondents mistakenly believed the president can suspend the Constitution in time of war or national emergency. Sixty-four percent believed the U.S. Constitution establishes English as the national language, and seventy-five percent believe the Constitution guarantees every citizen the right to a free public education.

Another national survey conducted in the spring of 1989 by the Survey Research Laboratory at Virginia Commonwealth University revealed that only one in four adults could name both of their U.S. Senators, less than half knew that the first ten amendments to the Constitution are known as the Bill of Rights, and barely a majority could define a recession. Public knowledge of political issues was generally marked by confusion and missperception. For example, although two-thirds knew that the Reagan administration supported the overthrow of the government in Nicaragua, only half could identify the Sandinistas as the government, rather than the rebels.

To test whether the public's information level has changed over time, the survey repeated a dozen knowledge questions that had appeared on polls conducted in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The greater availability of public education, the concurrent rise in the average number of years of schooling achieved between the 1940s and 1989 and the strong correlation between education and political knowledge would seem to predict a better informed citizenry in 1989. But despite dramatic increases in levels of education and in the availability of news, the public's civic knowledge was found to be essentially unchanged from 40 years ago (Delli, Carpini, Keeter, 1989).

These surveys demonstrate widespread lack of knowledge and confusion about the powers of the presidency, the provisions of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights; a poor grasp of critical elements of American history; and inconsistent understanding of current political issues and information. Individuals with such inadequate civic understanding are handicapped in their ability to exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

Civic Illiteracy Among Youth

The deficiency of civic knowledge, attitudes and behavior among American adults leads to concern about the next generation. Unfortunately, the civic profile of the young is no more encouraging. In recent years, numerous studies have documented a serious lack of civic preparedness among youth. Periodic assessments conducted by the

National Assessment of Educational Progress portray a generation of citizens with little understanding of the institutions, events, personalities and ideas that have shaped our past and our future. The 1990 analysis of the survey data concludes that 17-year-olds performed "significantly less well than their counterparts assessed in either 1976 or 1982." And while 13-year-olds performed as well as their predecessors, all "students' civics achievement remained quite limited in many respects." For 8th-grade students:

- only 36 percent knew that the presidential candi date for each major political party is formally nominated by a national convention;
- thirty-six percent could not correctly define a boycott;
- only about one-third recognized examples of checks and balances and 42 percent could not select a correct definition of separation of powers;
- fifty-six percent did not know that the right to religious freedom is found in the amendments to the Constitution;
- one-third didn't know that freedom of speech has limits.

Despite the prominence of economic issues in American life, most high school students are economically illiterate. A national study sponsored by the **Joint Council on Economic Education** in 1988 found that the typical student scored only about 15 percentage points above chance on a test of basic economic knowledge. Only 39 percent were familiar with the Gross National Product, barely a third knew the definition of profit, only a quarter knew the definition of inflation and less than half knew the definition of a federal budget deficit. How can a citizenry that cannot even define a federal budget deficit adopt a reasoned approach to evaluating proposals for resolving the problem?

Perhaps more alarming is the knowledge that the proportion of entering college freshmen identifying "keeping up with political affairs" as an important goal is now a distinct minority (Mathews, 1985; Hartle and Taylor, 1985). The growing indifference of young citizens to civic affairs is reflected in their political behavior. Less than half of all the newly eligible 18-21 year-olds voted in the 1972 presidential election, and their turnout has steadily declined ever since. Recent studies of the political attitudes of youth confirm that indifference is the dominant attitude underlying non-voting. Surveys also reveal distressingly low levels of political efficacy, widespread amorality and a decline of respect for the law and legal procedures among students. A generation ago, most young citizens felt that it was wrong to "try to get around the law, even if you don't actually break it." This sentiment no longer commands majority support among students (Gans, 1990; Gans, 1988; Hastings, 1986).

The public-spiritedness, sense of community and civic virtue that Alexis de Tocqueville so admired in our forefathers is largely missing among young citizens. Today's students are more interested in their own well-being and ambitions than that of their communities and the nation. A recent study by Mary Hepburn of the Carl Vinson Institute of Government reported "...a fixation on personal bread and butter issues, and a turning away from community and group problems." A survey of young citizens reported in **"Democracy's Next Generation: A Survey of Youth Values in America"** (1989) similarly underscores the growing presence of privatism in our society. When asked to rank various goals, 72 percent thought "career success" was most important, while only 24 percent felt that helping the community was of great importance. A survey sponsored by the Girl Scouts of America in late 1989 found that only 39 percent of junior high school students thought that voting in every election was the right thing to do. Sixteen percent of junior high school students said they would probably not vote at all. Sixty percent of youth said they would be unwilling to volunteer for the Peace Corps, Vista or similar activity (Coles, 1990). Traditions of self-fulfillment through community activities and voluntary associations for the public good are being supplanted by the single-minded pursuit of self-interest. For many of today's students, community means nothing more than the geographic location of their private residences.

Although the evidence is more fragmentary and impressionistic, perhaps the most disturbing trend in youth attitudes is an apparent resurgence of intolerance and prejudice. In addition to polls indicating a loss of respect for minority rights, recent years have seen a spate of racial and ethnic incidents and confrontations in elementary and secondary schools. Not all schools are experiencing heightened tensions, but no geographic or social setting seems immune. Incidents have been reported in schools North and South, urban and rural, wealthy and poor, integrated and segregated.

The Changing Civic Environment

Social and demographic trends are changing the context of citizenship. Citizens of the 21st century will live in a society of great diversity. They will need a firm belief in the democratic values of pluralism and tolerance and the skill to integrate their differences to continue to forge unity from diversity. Among the changes making the exercise of democratic citizenship more complex are: increasing diversity of ethnic, cultural, family and economic backgrounds among U.S. citizens, the rise of big government, growing global interdependence, technological innovation and the advent of the "Information Age."

Increasing Diversity

The number and diversity of legal immigrants who entered the U.S. during the 1980s is unprecedented. Fully two-thirds of the world's immigrants gravitate to the United States, and in 1987, about 26 percent of the nation's growth was due to net immigration. Whereas the last great wave of immigration was almost exclusively European in origin, four-fifths of adoptive Americans today come from Asia and South America. They arrive with widely varying educational backgrounds, markedly different cultural heritages and an incredible variety of native languages. It is not unusual for school systems in major ports of entry such as New York and Los Angeles to find 80 to 100 different languages represented among their students.

In tandem with declining white fertility and high African American and Hispanic childbearing rates, immigration is fueling dramatic changes in the ethnic profile of the United States. The nation's cultural heritage is no longer overwhelmingly European, and soon after the year 2,000, the dominant background of Americans will be non-European.

This diversity should be viewed as an asset. Adventuresome, strong-willed immigrants bring to the United States their talent, ambitions and energy. Facilitating their assimilation and acculturation to civic life poses an enormous challenge to the nation. They need to understand and accept the operation of the American democracy and learn their rights and responsibilities within that democracy. They must also internalize the democratic ideals that attracted them to the United States and are the cement that binds the nation together despite its diversity.

The Changing Family

Families seem less able today to teach civic values and discuss current events. The stereotypical American family, consisting of a working father, a housewife mother, and two school-age children has virtually passed out of existence, representing a mere six percent of U.S. households. Two-parent families have declined both in number and as a proportion of all households, and in 1988, married-couple families with their own children under 18 accounted for only 27 percent of households, down from 44 percent in 1960. Only 58 percent of children live in families with both of their birth parents. In 1988, over one-third of all marriages performed were second marriages for at least one partner (Hodgkinson, 1989), and almost 16 percent of children lived in families in which one of the parents was a step-parent. The proportion of children living with a single parent has doubled since 1970, from 12 percent to 24 percent and, of children born in 1989, an estimated 60 percent will spend some portion of their childhood in a one-parent situation. And parents are distracted by the workplace. Currently, 70 percent of children have mothers in the paid labor force. In 1976, only 31 percent of women with infants were in the paid labor force, but by 1988, 51 percent of women with infants had returned to work ("Studies in Marriage and the Family," 1989).

Accordingly, pressures on schools to assume family functions (e.g., daycare, recreation, etc.) are mounting. The increased prevalence of two-income families may also bear on the emotional health of today's children. According to the American Chicle Youth Poll, fear of kidnapping is the single greatest matter of concern to 8-17 year-olds, particularly "latchkey" children.

The growing number of single-parent families, ninety percent with a woman as the head of the household, has contributed to the spread of poverty in America. Nearly one-quarter of all children live below the federal poverty level, and more than half of all children in families maintained by a woman with no husband present were in poverty in 1987. Poverty, which is strongly related to poor school performance, and family instability scar children emotionally and inhibit their development into contributing citizens.

The emotional strain created by today's changing families distracts parents and children from other dimensions of life, including public affairs. This places an additional burden on schools to develop patriotic and civic values.

Growth in Complexity of Government

One of the defining political characteristics of the 20th century has been the increase in size and complexity of government. Beginning with the "New Deal" of the 1930s, the role of government in the United States has markedly increased. Today, the U.S. government table of organization is a maze containing over 2,000 federal departments, agencies, commissions and bureaus with responsibilities ranging from regulation of the economy to the preservation of natural resources, from welfare services to weather prediction. The state and local levels of government have experienced a similar expansion of responsibilities and an even more explosive growth in personnel. The number of federal workers has held steady at roughly 3 million for almost 30 years.

During the same period, state workers have increased from 1 to 4 million, while local government employment has swelled from 3 million to over 10 million. As if this level of complexity were not enough, the jurisdictions and responsibilities of government agencies overlap both vertically (local-state-federal) and horizontally (between agencies), making successful citizen negotiation of the bureaucratic labyrinth evermore difficult.

Clearly, students who learn only an oversimplified view of governmental structure will be ill-equipped as adults to deal with new civic realities. A new curriculum must help students understand and negotiate government as it is — and as it will be.

Global Awareness

Mass media and improved communication and transportation technologies have created a "global village" and have extended the responsibilities of citizenship to planetary proportions. The United States is part of an increasingly well-integrated global social, economic and ecological system in which isolationism can no longer be sustained. On the contrary, domestic political and economic decisions often have profound international consequences. Similarly, many serious social and environmental problems—pollution, the greenhouse effect, deforestation, the nuclear threat, terrorism—must be addressed on a global basis if they are to be resolved at all. More than any previous generation, tomorrow's citizens need to inform their decision making with a global perspective.

Technological Innovation

The last generation has witnessed extraordinary scientific and technological progress. Choices once unthinkable are now readily available. Whether and when to have children is no longer a matter of chance, but of design. Death can be forestalled with transplants and artificial organs. New life forms can be custom-designed in the laboratory and patented. All life on earth can be destroyed with nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, toxic wastes or atmospheric pollutants. An ever-accelerating pace of change suggests that the citizens of the 21st century will face choices we can scarcely imagine today.

The miracles and menaces of science and technology make for complex public policy issues and very difficult decisions. Increasingly, the issues we confront are not only technically complex, but multi-dimensional, with economic, legal, social and/or global implications. To be understood well and judged responsibly, they must be considered from several perspectives. Competing factual and value claims must be carefully weighed in order to reach reasoned decisions. Environmental issues, for example, often force citizens to choose clean air and water or jobs and productivity, both of which are generally favored. Moreover, the nature and consequences of the decisions our scientific prowess force upon us are frequently marked by uncertainty. "Facts" are in a constant state of flux, and scientific evidence and expert opinion can usually be marshalled to support both sides of any issue. Not surprisingly, complex trade-offs and compromises characterize contemporary public policy making.

The "Information Age"

New information processing and communication technologies are evolving at a dizzying speed. New ways to collect, store, analyze and absorb data are emerging almost daily and are profoundly influencing our lives. Already, more than half of all work is information work, and what John Naisbitt has called a "global information economy" is rapidly developing.

The dawn of the "Information Age" has dramatically increased our range of choices and vastly expanded our horizons, but the danger of "information overload" is very real. Overhead, unnoticed satellites constantly monitor weather, land use, natural resources, crops, military deployment and more. Profiles on millions of people are kept by law enforcement agencies. Merchants using bar code records are able to monitor available stock and even automatically order more when amounts are low.

Billions of transactions by credit card and ATM users are recorded electronically. Every level of government and virtually every agency collects and uses extensive amounts of data.

The ability of every citizen to collect and transmit data is mushrooming. In 1980, 96 percent of U.S. households had a telephone, as compared to 35 percent in 1920, and 42,377 books were published in 1980, as compared to 8,594 in 1919. Every year over 40,000 scientific articles are published, and experts in even the narrowest of fields complain that they cannot keep up with new developments. (Laughlin, 1989) The half-life of a college engineering degree, for example, is said to be less than five years. Photocopy and fax machines and personal computers have become standard equipment in business offices and are found in many private homes as well. The potential for the abuse of information, from invasion of privacy to deliberate misrepresentation to propaganda, is enormous. Masses of information are subject to misinterpretation, intentional or unintentional.

To function effectively citizens in the "Information Age" will need new skills in data gathering, analysis and application. Laughlin (1989) catalogs these skills. Informed citizens "need the ability to access data bases and information services, understand sophisticated verbal, pictorial and numerical data, know the important published sources of information, examine and process data from various perspectives, apply the logic of social data analysis and apply this information in daily life." Those who are unable to manage the volume of data bombarding them may be exploited by those who have the power and knowhow to use it. These skills must be taught. They cannot be acquired merely by existing in the "Information Age."

The Age of Television

The advent of television is one of the most important developments of the last generation and one of the most consequential for the next generation of citizens. Television has quickly become America's leading "activity," favorite source of entertainment, and most credible purveyor of news. Nearly 99 percent of U.S. households have a television set, and the vast majority have two or more. Average daily viewing time has steadily increased over the years and now stands at just under eight hours (Hepburn, 1989).

The ubiquity of television in American society is matched only by the controversy surrounding its alleged influence. Many of the claims made against the medium are relevant to citizenship. Television's passive nature is said to have turned many citizens from active participants into "couch potatoes." Its collage-like juxtapositioning of highly stimulating episodes in a near free-association of news, entertainment and advertising, some claim, undermines the very reasoning processes (sequential analysis, reflection, induction, etc.) undergirding modern technological advances, including television itself. Similarly, the strong tendency of its entertainment programs to offer quick, easy, satisfying resolutions to problems and to avoid dull, ambiguous and complex issues is said to foster unrealistic expectations, to make it difficult to distinguish between real-life situations and television unreality, and to ultimately beget viewer disillusionment and alienation. A shortage of reliable studies renders these claims problematic. The reliance of citizens on television as a source of news, however, is well-documented.

In a democracy, the quality of citizen decisions is directly related to the quality of the information available. In the early 1960s, newspapers were slightly favored over television as a source of news, but most people used several sources. This was compatible with the traditional model of democratic citizenship where individuals obtain and weigh information from several sources in order to make reasoned decisions about public policy issues. Today, however, television is preferred over newspapers by a greater than 2:1 margin, and the majority of adults rely *solely* on television for news (Hepburn, 1989; *The Wired Bedroom*, 1989; The Roper Organization, 1987). One analysis of press coverage of the 1988 Presidential election found only 20 percent of newspaper stories dealt with candidate qualifications and less than 10 percent with issues. Television news was found "especially reproachable" since it provided considerably less coverage to issues than newspapers (Markle Commission, 1990). There is a certain irony (and danger) in the fact that at a time when civic life has never been more complicated, citizens rely increasingly on a news source that simplifies reality. Reasoned decision making requires that citizens have access to knowledge of unprecedented breadth and depth.

Television will not disappear nor would that be desirable. When used thoughtfully, television can be a powerful informative medium bringing the world into our homes. A new civics curriculum should take advantage of television's special ability to make events and people "come to life," while finding ways to make the television-viewing experience more stimulating and interactive.

Rapid advances in technology and an "information explosion" have spawned a civic environment fraught with complex issues, uncertainty and frequent value conflicts. The number and complexity of the tasks and responsibilities associated with civic life has greatly increased, necessitating an entirely new approach to the way in which we prepare our children for the effective exercise of citizenship.

The Need For A New Approach

Citizenship as Multiple Roles

Individuals today face an increasingly complex and interrelated world in which the need for informed, participating citizens has never been greater. Democratic citizenship is, however, a complex phenomenon. Its exercise is multidimensional and multidirectional.

Democratic citizenship is not limited to government and politics. It encompasses roles and relationships within the economic system, the legal system and the social system as well.

Effective civic participation as voters and political activists, workers, consumers, investors, family members and volunteers is thus a complex matter. Active civic participation and intelligent decision making require a working knowledge of how our systems function, an abiding commitment to the values underlying them, and the possession of a wide array of interpersonal and intellectual skills. We rely on the schools to endow our children with these civic competencies.

Assuming the many and varied roles of democratic citizenship is a challenging task. Learning how to participate in the give-and-take of civic affairs is a lifelong process. The communities in which we live constantly evolve, and never has the pace of change been swifter. Accordingly, no course of study can prepare young citizens for every exigency of civic life. A well-organized, realistic civics course strategically offered in 8th or 9th grade, however, can provide students with the basic knowledge, values and competencies—the "tools"—with which to construct productive and rewarding civic relationships. This is the goal of the **OUR DEMOCRACY** project.

A Civic Tool-Kit

In order to cope with the increasing demands of modern citizenship, students require a variety of disciplinary perspectives and analytic tools. U.S. citizens simultaneously participate in several distinct, but inter-related systems: a representative government, a market economy, an adversarial system of justice and a social system comprised of a vast network of social institutions and voluntary activities. These systems are separate, but influence one another. They are dynamic, but converge to function as one. Few, if any, real-world issues (poverty, hunger, nuclear weapons, pollution, etc.) are confined in origin or effect to a single system or can be fully understood or resolved from a single perspective. Effective citizenship requires a holistic and integrated understanding of the political, economic, legal and social systems, from the institutions comprising them to the values underlying them.

Given the complexity and dynamism of contemporary society, basic knowledge of the four systems in which we live is not sufficient for the responsible exercise of democratic citizenship. Empowering citizens to meet the challenges of the 21st century requires endowing them with an extensive repertoire of intellectual, interpersonal and participation skills, including: integrative decision making; critical thinking; cooperation and conflict resolution; and communication, advocacy and persuasion. Of particular importance in the Information Age are information-gathering and processing skills. The information explosion puts a premium on knowing where to find different types of data and understanding the limitations and biases of alternative sources. Without such facilities, separating truth from falsehood, and facts from value statements and opinions is difficult, and reasoned decision making is impossible.

It is abundantly clear that today's students need a broad, integrative education. This imperative, however, runs directly counter to the evolution of the disciplines, the dominant paradigm of teacher training and certification, and the organization and structure of schools. Indeed, the entire educational system is geared toward presenting, categorizing and analyzing knowledge in discrete bundles, rather than weaving it together into a unified whole. Students are left to their own devices to make connections between subjects and to construct comprehensive and coherent world views. Needless to say, they frequently fail.

Growing Support for Multi-Disciplinary Civics

A variety of studies and assessments of the state of education in the 1980s have called for a new approach to civics that would break the content stranglehold of government and politics to encompass the economic, legal and social dimensions of civic affairs. The 1983 report of the **National Commission on Excellence in Education**, *A Nation at Risk*, recognizes that citizenship entails more than purely political competence when it concludes that economic literacy "is requisite to the informed and committed exercise of citizenship in our free society." The **National Council for the Social Studies Task Force on Scope and Sequence** (Jarolimek, 1984) likewise endorses a multi-disciplinary conception of citizenship in recommending for the 9th grade a course entitled "Systems That Make a Democratic Society Work: Law, Justice and Economic." The 1989 report of the **Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development**, *Turning Points: Preparing American Youth for the 21st Century*, similarly stresses the need for a new approach to citizenship education and criticizes current middle grade curricula for presenting "ideas and information strictly by subject, making it difficult for students to see connections between ideas in different disciplines."

In response to the burgeoning support for a new approach to civics, a growing number of states now recommend or require courses which include the integration of political, economic, legal and social content. Many other states are considering the implementation of multi-disciplinary civics courses during the middle school years. These developments are encouraging, but insufficient. In practice, the content of the newly recommended civics courses and existing instructional materials rarely live up to the promise of titles such as "The Economic, Legal and Political Systems in Action."

Deficiencies of Existing Civics Materials

In their quest to encompass the broad range of the history and operations of American government, traditional civics courses and texts tend to emphasize facts and concepts to the exclusion of broader, more integrated knowledge and to avoid controversial issues and tensions between institutions. Dynamic processes are conveyed through static descriptions and thus become lifeless. Basic principles and major developments in constitutional history are usually covered, but the values underlying them are given short shrift. Scant attention is given to the study of our economic system or to the importance of our network of social institutions and voluntary activities. Extra-constitutional institutions, such as interest groups and the mass media, are rarely treated at all. To the extent that these aspects of democratic citizenship are attended to, their treatment tends to be superficial, uninspired, not well integrated with other civics content and hardly sufficient to impart even minimal understanding.

Young adolescents are very much "here and now" oriented, but most civics content is "there and then" oriented, consisting mainly of leaden descriptions of government institutions set in the context of past events. Connections to the real world of today are seldom made explicit. It is therefore not surprising that many students see learning about civic affairs as a matter of memorizing information that has little, if any, lasting significance. Nothing could be (nor need be) further from the truth. A new civics course integrating political, economic, legal and social content and designed with the needs, abilities and interests of young adolescents uppermost in mind can readily overcome the pathologies of traditional civics.

Middle Grade Civics: A Window of Opportunity

Early adolescence is an especially appropriate time to provide students with their first comprehensive, integrated civics instruction. It is during this crucial turning point in their lives that students develop the capacity to comprehend reciprocal relationships and to reason abstractly, skills which are essential to democratic citizenship. Moreover, during the middle grade years the foundations of adult values are laid. Active participation and commitment to democratic values are integral aspects of civic competence that must be taught. Without a meaningful conception of democratic values, the informed exercise of civic judgment is not possible. Although teaching about values has always been a sensitive matter, there may be no more opportune time to stimulate a commitment to democratic values among young citizens.

Young adolescents are also gaining their first concrete experience with the roles and responsibilities attending adult civic life. This is especially the case with respect to the economic sphere. Teenagers are entering the labor force in greater numbers with each passing year. They also play important roles in a variety of markets (e.g. clothing, entertainment and consumer electronics). During 1988, for example, it is estimated that students spent $15.7 billion received from their parents. Highly brand-conscious youngsters also influenced the spending of many times that amount in family purchases of items ranging from ice cream and cookies to furniture and cars. An integrated civics curriculum complements the nascent economic and social experiences of young adolescents, helping to place them in context and assisting in the evolution toward adult roles and responsibilities.

An integrated civics curriculum for young adolescents also provides an ideal opportunity to nurture understanding and commitment to democratic values. Values such as freedom and human dignity are a powerful cohesive force helping to bind our pluralistic society together. Yet each generation must develop its own commitment to them. Young adolescents are able and willing to explore social and personal values, and the civics curriculum provides a natural setting for focusing their attention on basic democratic values and building understanding and commitment to them.

Perhaps of greatest importance, early adolescence is a time when nearly every youngster in the nation is attending school. During a decade in which there has been pressure from many quarters to achieve excellence in education, very little progress has been made in reducing the dropout rate. About one-quarter of the 18 year-olds in the United States do not complete high school. In urban areas and among minority groups, the dropout rate frequently exceeds 50 percent. Below the 10th grade, however, the dropout rate is negligible. An 8th or 9th grade civics course may be the only opportunity fully a quarter of the nation's citizens will have to learn about the basic systems in which they will function for the rest of their lives. Without such a course, students who drop out will lack knowledge they need to manage their personal lives. They will be estranged from the system of shared values undergirding and sustaining our democracy. They will be less able to understand political, economic, legal and social issues and to participate effectively as citizens.

Civic education efforts initiated early in the curriculum could reach the "at risk" student before he/she leaves school. The 8th or 9th grade civics course is an ideal vehicle for reaching the widest possible student audience. The rest of this book explores the nature of an appropriate civic education for young adolescents beginning by defining citizenship.

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The Idea of Citizenship

Citizenship is a deceptively subtle and heavily value-laden concept. So complex are its meanings and dimensions that the Founders did not incorporate an explicit definition of citizenship into the United States Constitution. Politicians, citizens and scholars still cannot agree on a precise definition. Each must define the term in the context of their discussion of citizenship. This chapter explores the historical evolution of the concept of citizen in Western Civilization.

In the most narrow sense, citizenship may be defined as a legal status. A "citizen" is simply a legally-recognized member of the state. In these terms, the key issues of citizenship turn on the body of legislation, administrative law and judicial decisions governing such matters as who is a citizen, how one may become a citizen, and the benefits and responsibilities one may derive and share from citizenship status.

In a related, but broader sense citizenship involves reciprocal relationships between the individual and the state. These relationships include both rights and obligations. Citizenship rights are those prerogatives—political, economic, legal and social—one enjoys through the agency of the state. These rights are matched by duties citizens must assume to keep the polity effective and to prevent tyranny. Among these duties are paying taxes, obeying the law, educating one's family, voting, serving jury duty, pursuing voluntary activity and promoting the welfare of the community. Although no one denies that citizenship entails both rights and duties, the nature of the proper balance between individual freedom and civic responsibility has been a matter of historic debate.

In yet another sense citizenship is a practice, an enterprise involving not only rights and obligations, but also the knowledge, attitudes and skills individuals need to protect and fulfill them. What Aristotle termed the "indefinite office" of citizen has become an extraordinarily demanding role. Revolutions in communications technology from television to the computer confront conscientious citizens with the potential for "information overload" and challenge their ability to discriminate fact from opinion and truth from falsehood. Contemporary issues are extraordinarily complex and require citizens to draw upon a wide array of intellectual and interpersonal skills in order to reach reasoned decisions. Nor is the domain of citizen-ship limited to government and politics. It encompasses roles and responsibilities within the economic system, the legal system and the social system as well. Indeed, Engle and Ochoa (1988) have argued that whenever individuals make decisions or take actions affecting others, directly or indirectly, purposefully or accidentally, they are acting as citizens. In an increasingly interdependent and fragile world, citizenship may thus transcend national boundaries and assume planetary significance.

For our purposes, neither the legal nor the global conception of citizenship is valid. Aristotle clearly distinguished between *citizens*, who share in ruling the state, and subjects, who have no voice in government and no rights. The legal conception of citizenship makes no such distinction. All states, regardless of the nature of the relationship between rulers and ruled, are populated by "citizens." In this sense, a legally-recognized member of the People's Republic of China is as much a "citizen" as a legally-recognized member of the United States of America. Similarly, although some quasi-civic responsibility to the human species may be granted, there are no global citizens in Aristotle's sense. There exists at present no formal global state in which citizens can participate, no planetary law to be ruled by and no universally-recognized human rights to protect or to exercise.

The concept of citizenship, properly understood, is inextricably tied to political freedom and popular government. Wherever one may stand on such issues as the proper balance between civic rights and responsibilities, the contours of minimum standards for civic competence, or the content and process of appropriate education for the office of citizen, it remains the case that these issues are only meaningful within the democratic socio-political context.

That context is rife with contradictions and inconsistencies. Benjamin Barber, for example, has described two concepts of citizenship operant in the United States. Under the dominant concept, citizens are viewed as individuals with interests who belong to groups that have similar interests. The essential act of citizenship involves expressing those interests to political authorities, saying, in effect, "Here is what I want: I want a new sewer down my street; I want a tax break; I want jobs; I want something for me, my family, my particular group" (Barber, 1988, 33). In contrast, the other concept prompts citizens to ask: "What would be good for our community? What would serve all of us as a public?" People with such a view "...move away from privatistic modes of thinking into a more public mode—a political or civic mode of thinking—[that] requires...the expansion of what your interests are to include the interests of your town, your city, the state, the nation..." (Barber, 1988, 33 and 35). Both of these partially contradictory conceptions of citizenship are part and parcel of the American political experience, but both are also firmly rooted in classical and early modern history and traditions.

Such inconsistencies result from the evolution of the concept of citizenship in Western Civilization and competing historical traditions. American notions of democratic citizenship are drawn from two main sources. The first wellspring is the Greco-Roman tradition of citizenship forged in the rise and fall of the Greek city-states and the Roman Republic and described and analyzed in the writings of Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, Polybius and Cicero. The second flows from the thought of such theorists as

Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, Madison and Jefferson, witnesses to and participants in the growth of the modern nation-state. Both must be examined if the modern concepts of citizenship in the United States are to be fully understood.

Classical Theory and Practice

The concept of democracy, taken from the Greek translation, means "government by the people." The Greek experience with democracy was changed and transmitted to us through Rome, through the medieval church, through the Enlightenment, and through the Constitution of the United States. In a real sense, this evolution of political thought makes us all students of classical ideas and texts. The term "democracy," while an invention of the classical world, enjoys a high degree of relevance in contemporary societies. The political classification schemes and value systems suggested by the Greeks and discovered again in the early modern era are still current in today's world, and still have their influence throughout the globe—witness recent popular movements for democracy from the Soviet client states of Eastern Europe to the People's Republic of China.

The genesis of the idea of citizenship lies in two key developments during the rise of the city-states from the seventh to the fifth century B.C. that totally transformed Greek society. First, achieved status supplanted ascribed status as the basis for defining political, legal and social relationships. Authority for governing was transferred from patriarchs, nobles and kings to the political community centered in the city-state. In the process, citizenship rights and responsibilities came to be based on membership in the polity and were conferred by law, rather than inherited on the basis of family, class or sex. Membership in the political community became the primary bond holding society together, and all other ties of sentiment or association were subordinated to loyalty to the state.

Second, membership in the political community became an active enterprise. Members were no longer merely subjects to whom the law was revealed, but a self-governing community of free and eqtual citizens actively engaged in making, administering and judging the law. The active participation of citizens in deliberations on the affairs of state was central to Greek notions of citizenship. The early Greek philosophers were united in the belief that human capacities could be fully developed, and justice achieved, only through participation in the political community. On the matters of who was qualified for the office of citizen, and what form of self-government was most congenial to the good life, however, opinion was divided.

Herodotus (1987), for example, is quite critical of democracy, declaring that "the masses are ignorant, irresponsible and violent; their capacity for capriciousness is certainly equal to that of kings. The multitude having never been taught to know what is right cannot be expected to pursue the right" (80-81). The Greeks were preoccupied with notions of order and tyranny, suggesting that governments are inherently unstable and people must therefore constantly search for the least vulnerable form. To

Herodotus and Aristotle, the significant political act was the discussion of where to vest authority. Should authority be given to an individual, a small elite group or the multitude of the people? Herodotus saw democracy as more conducive to equality and freedom; however, if the same values could be assured through a monarchy, he would prefer it because of the advantage of stability and order which the monarchy could establish with more certainty.

Pericles, on the other hand, is more vigorous in his defense of democracy. In his famous funeral oration in 431 B.C., the first year of the Peloponnesian War, he firmly establishes the high ideal of democratic citizenship:

> *Our constitution...favors the many instead of the few; this is why it is called a democracy. If we look to the laws, they afford equal justice to all in their private differences; if to social standing, advancement in public life falls to reputation for capacity, class considerations not being allowed to interfere with merit; nor again does poverty bar the way, if a man is able to serve the state, he is not hindered by the obscurity of his condition. The freedom which we enjoy in our government extends also to our ordinary life. There, far from exercising a jealous surveil lance over each other, we do not feel called upon to be angry with our neighbor for doing what he likes...*
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> *Our public men have, besides politics, their private affairs to attend to, and our ordinary citizens, though occupied with the pursuits of industry, are still fair judges of public matters; for, unlike any other nation, regarding him who takes no part in these duties not as unambitious but as useless, we Athenians are able to judge at all events if we cannot originate, and instead of looking on discussion as a stumbling block in the way of action, we think it an indispensable preliminary to any action at all (Thucydides, 1982, 35-46).*

For Pericles, democracy is, above all, the school of civic virtue. Within this virtue, the capacity or the ability to do good is the only criterion for holding political office and valor in service to the city-state is, or should be, habitual.

The Periclean ideal was a reflection of the glory that was 5th century Athens. It is not surprising that as the fortunes of the city-states waned in the 4th century B.C., conceptions of citizenship would lose something of their previous luster. The city of Pericles had been weakened by a long and costly war with Sparta and would eventually suffer defeat and be ruled by Philip and Alexander of Macedonia. Plato attributed this calamity to several related factors: the ignorance and impulsive passions of the common people in their behavior as citizens; a preoccupation with personal well-being and private interests; and disrespect for the learning of virtue. As described by John C. Livingston and Robert G. Thompson, central to the decline of Athenian democracy were "demagogues whipping up emotional mob passions while respectable Athenians avoided the vulgarities of the mob, lamented the extremism of its leaders, and pursued their private lives—unmindful of Pericles' eloquent wisdom" (Livingston and Thompson, 1963, 421).

Given this setting, it is not surprising that Plato's ideal political community as set forth in *The Republic* is hardly egalitarian. Plato was greatly troubled by the problem of the immature citizen, and believed that so long as factionalism and partisanship are the consequences of extremes of poverty and wealth, there can be no just society (551). Accordingly, the political community that he envisioned was closed, with citizenship status restricted to the relatively spare ranks of those with the requisite wisdom, education and self-control to be able to subordinate their private interests and passions to the public good.

In contrast to Pericles' multi-dimensional conception of citizenship roles, whereby citizens alternately worked, fought and ruled, Plato advocates a uni-dimensional view. In the interests of justice, Plato asserts, people should assume only those roles for which they are best suited. That is, only workers should work, only warriors should fight and guardians alone should rule. In a sense, good citizenship amounted to each class "knowing its place," although only the aristocrats of the guardian class held the formal status of citizen.

Aristotle in *Politics* presents his own six-fold classification and analysis of types of government that has influenced political philosophers throughout the ages. The supreme authority of the state, Aristotle asserts, may be vested in one, few or many hands. That authority may be directed toward serving the public good (true forms of government) or advancing the private interests of the governors (corrupted forms). Hence, Aristotle's paradigm consists of three true forms of government (monarchy, aristocracy and republic) mirrored by three corresponding corrupted forms (tyranny, oligarchy and democracy).

Because all true forms of government serve the public interest, Aristotle did not express a clear preference for any particular form. His sympathies generally lay with republican government, however. Hence, his vision of the just state was more open and inclusive than that of Plato. Nevertheless, citizenship status in Aristotle's republic was far from inclusive. The right to hold the office of citizen was confined to the ranks of free men, which excluded not only women, children and slaves, but also all those lacking the intellect, education or leisure required for participating fully in self-government.

Whatever their other differences, Plato and Aristotle were in agreement on several significant points. First, both saw the political community as the ultimate human organization, and the central means for developing human capacities and achieving justice. Aristotle (1964) expressed the importance of the political community in the following way:

> *...every community is established with a view to some good...But if all communities aim at some good, the state or political community, which is the highest of all, and which embraces all the rest, aims at good in a higher degree than any other, and at the highest good (80-81).*

Plato and Aristotle also agreed that a political community can only be virtuous and advance toward the good life if it is guided by citizens possessing virtue. Accordingly, although differing on who to include, both felt that the state should provide a common public education for citizens. Since the aim of the state was the common good, it naturally followed that "the training in things which are of common interest should be the same for all" (Aristotle, 1964, 81). Neither philosopher ever specified precisely what kind of an education would produce the virtuous citizen and the just state, however. Both expressed a decided preference for theoretical over practical studies, but neither attempted to fully develop the linkage they saw between the character of the citizenry and the character of the state.

Roman experience with the concept of political citizenship contains some interesting parallels to Greek history. For example, central to the establishment of the concept in both societies was a transfer of authority from kinship groups to the state. In the process, the individual (citizen) became the irreducible unit of the socio-political system, supplanting the family, tribe or class.

Philosophically, within the context of the Roman world Polybius carries on the intellectual traditions of Aristotle, while Cicero repeats the Greek classification and analysis of states. Cicero does add to the Greek legacy, however, in some important ways. He suggests, for example, that the equality of "men" is not a question of their possessions or learning, but their ability to distinguish between right and wrong. Moreover, he asserts that the authority of the state proceeds from the people, or at least from those with the insight of virtue. This idea would be raised again at the time of the American Revolution and is manifested in the Founders' concerns about whether or not there were people of virtue in whom to entrust the ideals of republican government. Although subordinated to the dominant liberal conception of democratic citizenship for over 150 years, a precipitous decline of American civic life in the late 20th century would motivate numerous scholars to advocate the revival of the ancient ideals of civic virtue, the common good and public-oriented participatory citizenship (Pratte, 1988; Ketcham, 1987; Battistoni, 1985; Bellah, et al., 1985; Barber, 1984; Janowitz, 1983; Tussman, 1982; Butts, 1980).

Classical Liberalism

The idea of political citizenship went into decline as the Roman Empire degenerated into decentralized and localized feudal society. Membership in the political community ceased to be the primary bond holding society together and giving direction and meaning to life. Rather, demands uponlar attentions and loyalties became decidedly plural, with authority exercised by many groups, associations, and communities, each desiring to control its members. It would not be until the 15th century and the beginnings of the development of the modern nation-state—a span of nearly 1,000 years—that the idea of citizenship would be rediscovered, reworked and eventually made manifest in Western government and politics. In the process, two alternative conceptions of citizenship (liberal and republican) would develop, both of which would have a profound impact on the founding and the subsequent history of the United States of America.

The liberal view of democratic citizenship was fundamentally different from that of the Greeks. Membership and participation in the political community was not seen as the pathway to human fulfillment. On the contrary, happiness was to be achieved by pursuing private interests with as little interference as possible from government. Freedom would not be realized through intensive involvement in the civic life of the political community, but rather by limiting the sphere of government activity and the corresponding public obligations of citizens.

Although many philosophers contributed to the development of classical liberal political theory, its basic tenets are set forth in the *Two Treatises of Government*, written in the late 17th century by John Locke. In these works Locke examines the nature and extent of individual rights and explains how these rights place limits upon the exercise of political power by the state.

Locke argues that in the "state of nature," prior to the advent of societies and governments, individuals possessed many rights and enjoyed a substantial degree of freedom. The natural condition of man is "a state of perfect freedom to order their actions, and dispose of their possessions and persons as they think fit...without asking leave or depending upon the will of any other man" (76). What prevents liberty from devolving into license is the law of nature, a body of law that "teaches all mankind who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty or possessions..."(78).

Of course, were the state of nature a utopia, there would be no reason for abandoning it in favor of civil society. The defect in the fabric of the state of nature, Locke asserts, was man himself: some individuals were simply unable (or unwilling) to act in accordance with the law of nature. Moreover, enforcing the law of nature was itself problematic. Although each individual was entitled to restrain or punish those who threatened the lives or the possessions of others, the task was inconvenient, if not dangerous.

Natural law discovered by individual reason and enforced through individual initiative was ultimately not a sufficient basis for a stable and secure existence. What man needed was a known and settled law evident even to those lacking reason, a law that could be impartially judged, a law that could be effectively executed. In order to secure the benefits of such a system, man abandoned the state of nature in favor of civil society. Only so much of their natural rights as was necessary to make and enforce a uniform body of law was yielded to government, and government was made accountable to the will of the majority of society's members.

Locke's liberal theory is striking in its expansive view of individual rights and in its narrow conception of both the functions of government and the nature of public life. The matters of most consequence in life, Locke argues, are private, not public. Government is simply a necessary expedient to facilitate the handling of private matters, such as protecting property, through a system of laws. The scope of government is limited and its actions are subject to review. There is little in Locke's theory to suggest that citizenship and public life can or should be expected to materially enhance the character of citizens. Government creates a public order within which private affairs may be peacefully pursued, and that is enough.

The influence of classical liberalism on the Founders of the United States of America is not difficult to demonstrate. For example, consider the parallels in the following two statements:

> *Whensoever, therefore, the legislature shall...either by ambition, fear, folly or corruption, endeavor to grasp themselves, or put into the hands of any other, an absolute power over the lives, liberties and estates of the people, by this breach of trust they forfeit the power the people had put into their hand for quite contrary ends, and it devolves to the people, who have a right to resume their original liberty, and by the establishment of a new legislature (such as they shall think fit), provide for their own safety and security, which is the end for which they are in society (Locke, 1947, 189).*

Compare John Locke's thoughts in the Second Treatise of Civil Government above to Thomas Jefferson's in the Declaration of Independence below:

> *We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government be-*

> *comes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."*

Jefferson said that the Declaration of Independence was a wholly original work expressing uniquely American sentiments, and that he drafted it without reference to any books or articles. Whatever its inspiration, there is an unmistakably Lockean tone to Jefferson's "expression of the American mind." But classical liberalism was not the only influence on the Founders. Republicanism was an important influence as well.

Republicanism

The roots of republican theory are found in observations and analyses of the Greek and Roman republics, especially as they pertain to the decline and fall of these political systems. As was noted earlier, Plato felt that the collapse of the Athenian Republic was due to "rampant individualism" (Butts, 1988, 107). Similarly, Cicero, Livy and Plutarch contrasted the "venal, cynical and oppressive" atmosphere of the last days of the Roman Republic with an early period which had been characterized by "virtue...simplicity, patriotism, integrity, a love of justice and of liberty" (Bailyn, 1967, 25). Virtue, the willingness to put aside self-interest in favor of the public good, is the central concept in republican theory. On the basis of his 16th century study of Livy's account of the fall of the Roman Empire, Nicolo Machiavelli concluded in the Discourses that while all societies are prone to cyclical decay and decline, virtue can act as a countervailing force. Societies governed totally by self-interest, on the other hand, cannot endure.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, a host of philosophers attempted to fashion from classical and Renaissance thought a distinctly English ideology of republicanism. From Aristotle, they drew the axiom that there was no necessary institutional form to government in the public interest. From Machiavelli, they drew the notion that without virtue among both rulers and ruled, political society is subject to cyclical decline. Interpreted through these lenses, English history was portrayed as a continuing struggle to regain the republican government that had been lost in 1066 with the Norman Conquest. This struggle had been marked by cycles of brief progress toward government in the public interest, eventual retreat and the return of tyranny or oligarchy.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688-89 was a major, albeit short-lived victory in the continuing struggle. Within thirty years, the specter of tyranny once again confronted English republicans in the form of Robert Walpole. Working in concert with the British Crown, Walpole, the first member of Parliament to be dubbed "prime minister," effected remarkable changes in British society and government. The establishment of circulating paper money with a stable value, for example, encouraged trade and speculation and reduced the social significance of property. It also brought luxury and corruption. Similarly, Walpole led the institution of the "ministerial" form of government, a system that he controlled with the assistance of and for the benefit of the Crown through patronage in the form of titles, honors and outright bribery. English republicans viewed the almost incestuous relationship between the Crown and the prime minister as a serious threat to the "balanced constitution" wrought in the Glorious Revolution. That this threat to English liberties should be met with parliamentary acquiescence and public complacency particularly disheartened the republicans. The cycle was repeating. Virtue was disappearing. English society was sinking in "self-indulgence, effiminizing luxury, and gluttonous pursuit of gain" (Bailyn, 1967, 76). Could tyranny be far behind?

Early American Experience

Although the English republicans had very little impact on British politics, their warnings of impending tyranny found sympathetic ears in North America, especially after Crown and Parliament moved in the 1760s to tighten their control over the colonies. The Stamp Act and subsequent actions of the British government were interpreted as part of a deliberate assault against liberty, something the colonists had "long conceived to be a possibility in view of the known tendencies and of the present state of affairs in England" (Bailyn, 1967, 95). If the English government was bent on tyranny, and its people unwilling or unable to prevent it, then there was no alternative for Americans but separation and independence. Jefferson expressed the situation: "We might have been a free and great people together; but a communication of grandeur and of freedom it seems is below their dignity. Be it so, since they will have it. The road to happiness and to glory is open to us too" (Quoted in Wills, 1978, 378).

As it had been for Plato and Aristotle, it was an article of faith in 18th century republican thought that there was a reciprocal relationship between the character of a government and the character of its people (Wood, 1969, 119). In England, it was evident that a corrupt government was fostered by, and in turn fostered, a citizenry lacking virtue. By the same reasoning, the prospects for republican government in the colonies seemed bright. The colonies had been largely self-governing for nearly a century prior to the American Revolution. Property and political rights were far more widely distributed than in England. And the rigors of colonial life bred a sturdy, yeoman-like character among the citizenry that seemed ideally suited to sustaining republican government.

After the American Revolution, creating new state governments that would pursue the public good appeared to be a relatively simple matter of institutional design. The citizenry was virtuous, and could be counted on to seek the public good when choosing those who would govern or when chosen to govern. Lodging power primarily in popularly-elected legislatures would further encourage shared interests and goals between governors and governed. Executive and judicial power would be severely curtailed.

The establishment of popular governments in the states, and the expectation that they would be republican, rested on the assumption that the people were essentially homogeneous and uniformly virtuous. The former may have been true enough in terms of opposition to the Crown, but once the common enemy was removed, it quickly became apparent that neither assumption was valid. Shay's Rebellion and rampant factionalism in the state legislatures vividly demonstrated that not only did different groups—rich and poor, debtors and creditors, farmers and merchants—have different interests, but each was more than willing to use government to further its own selfish interests, often at the expense of the rights of others.

Prior to the Revolution, Americans had convinced themselves that they were republicans "by nature." By the mid-1780s many Americans, including the Founders, began to feel that "the American public did not possess a sufficient stock of virtue to sustain a republic, as republics had traditionally been conceived" (McDonald, 1985, 179). Accordingly, if a republican federal government were to be created, it would have to be constructed in light of the discredited virtue of the American people.

In many ways, the Constitution of the United States represents an attempt to create conditions under which virtue might operate for the benefit of the people through what might be called an elitist republican design. The suffrage was restricted to land owners, whose settled attachment to the community would help ensure a properly communitarian outlook. Members of the House of Representatives would be chosen in numerically large constituencies, making it difficult for candidates lacking virtue to "practise with success the vicious arts, by which elections too often are carried" (Madison, 1961, 82). The principle of majority rule in the House would curb the pursuit of narrow interests by minority factions. Majority factions would be unlikely to form and threaten the public good given the multiplicity and geographic distance of interest groups from one another in the "extended republic" of the United States.

The Senate would not be popularly elected, thus insulating it from factious public opinion, and would have to pass on all legislation approved by the House. The President would not be popularly elected either, and would have the power to veto legislation. The Supreme Court, chosen by the President and confirmed by the Senate, would come to judge the constitutionality of legislation. In sum, the people would not directly control the federal government, but tyranny would be avoided by giving each branch of government the inclination and the wherewithal to check the others and by selecting people of virtue for government service.

The Triumph of Liberalism

As the ratification debates showed, the repudiation of the popular republicanism of the revolutionary period was a bitter pill for many Americans. It would not stay down for long. As the federal government began to assert its supremacy over the states and to make national policies directly affecting the welfare of citizens, Americans became increasingly unwilling to function as spectators.

On the structural and procedural level, a variety of inroads against elitism would be made in the early decades of the new nation. Political parties developed, and as they sought popular support the presidential nominating procedure was democratized. By 1832, presidential candidates were no longer being selected by caucuses of members of Congress, but rather by party conventions attended by rank and file members. Candidates for selection to the electoral college began to pledge themselves to party candidates, and by the early 1830s nearly every state had stripped its legislature of the power to select presidential electors and transferred it to the voters. Most importantly, non-freeholders began to successfully make the case that the "attachment to liberty that old-fashioned republicanism prized...could be demonstrated in many ways" (Berthoff, 1979, 118), and the property qualification for voting was gradually lifted.

On the political level, the defeat of John Quincy Adams by Andrew Jackson in the presidential election of 1828 sounded the death knell for republican public policy. Adams' rhetoric had been effusive about the positive use of federal government power to promote the common good, but his actions were heavily tilted toward the self-interest of the rich and powerful. The process of granting federal charters for internal improvements such as roads and bridges was rife with corruption. The Bank of the United States consistently pursued monetary policies favoring the established and constraining the opportunities of enterprising Americans. Tariff policy seemed to protect every interest but the public interest. Andrew Jackson expressed the public mood well when he wrote:

> *It is to be regretted that the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of government to their selfish purposes...When the laws under take to...make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society...who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors themselves have a right to complain of the injustice of their Government...There are no necessary evils in government. Its evils exist only in its abuses. If it would confine itself to equal protection, and, as Heaven does its rains, shower its favor alike on the high and low, the rich and the poor it would be an unqualified blessing (Quoted in Remini, 1982, 80- 81).*

In other words, the cure for the abuses of republican elitism was classical liberalism: limited government and individual freedom.

Jackson's victory "cleared the path for the triumph of laissezfaire capitalism and its culture in America" (Myers, 1967, 47) and worked profound changes in social attitudes. Prior to this time, the upwardly-mobile individual "sought to acquire the attributes of the social status he aspired to and at the same time tried to forget and disguise the lowly sources from whence he came" (Wood, 1969, 13). Henceforth, Americans would adhere to the cult of the self-made man and take pride in their "humble origins and their ability to have made it on their own, without influence and patronage, even without education" (Wood, 1969, 13).

From the Jackson Administration on, the liberal democratic notion of citizenship would develop in two directions. One would increase the ranks of citizens, primarily through extension of the suffrage, and ensure their political equality upon admittance to the political community would be ongoing. Such efforts have not stopped to this day. The other would produce a new view of citizenship. With the expansion in the activities of the federal government, including the use of government power to redress social and economic imbalances, political citizenship became an instrument through which groups of sufficient size could use state power to enhance their particular selfish interests. The 18th-century American vision of liberalism, which emphasized individual initiative and self-reliance, was undermined in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by profound changes in the economy. As the United States industrialized and developed into a world economic power, individual control over economic circumstances diminished. The growing economic interdependence of Americans was recognized by the Populists in the 1890s, and they accordingly advocated government involvement in the economy to protect innocent citizens from the vagaries of economic forces beyond their control. The Progressives similarly recognized the threat to the prospective self-made man modern capitalism represented. It was the Depression, however, that drove home the point that the average American's prospects were intimately tied to a vast web of circumstances (the international market, decisions of bankers and investors, the spending patterns of millions of consumers, etc.) over which they had little or no control.

Interest Group Liberalism and the Crisis in American Citizenship

The New Deal response to the Depression was massive government intervention in the economy in such forms as regulation of banks and stock exchanges, setting minimum wages, organizing labor and consumers as counterweights to business, creating jobs, attempting to shape production, spending and saving, and providing welfare benefits such as unemployment compensation and social security. Absent from the New Deal agenda was the formulation of "explicit new definitions of state action as a desirable and enduringly necessary instrument of national public good as well as individual well-being" (Skocpol, 1983, 96). The inclination to think about politics in republican terms had been quashed a century earlier, and would not be revived.

Instead of defining a new vision of the public good, the New Deal did several other things. First, it established in public policy a concept of blamelessness exonerating individuals from full responsibility for their circumstances. Americans subject to economic forces beyond their control would henceforth receive a measure of government protection. Second, it explicitly recognized group interests, encouraged Americans to think about themselves as members of groups, and assisted formerly unorganized interests in organizing. Government support for unionization is the best example of this effort. Relatedly, greatly raising the stakes of national politics by expanding the federal role in American political, economic and social life provided a powerful incentive for groups to become involved in efforts to influence government policy making.

In short, the New Deal created a new system in which democratic politics revolves around the organization of interest groups, their competition in the political arena, bargaining and compromise. The game belongs to those who can build majority coalitions to elect candidates and pass legislation. The government referees the contest, and outcomes determine distributions. In this system, democratic citizens are seen as people "who learn how to advance private interests through rational, critical-minded participation in choosing government elites and who support the essential democratic procedures and institutions...that presumably permit maximum freedom for others to do the same" (Newmann, 1989, 357).

This model of citizenship and the political process is firmly rooted in James Madison's treatment of the nature of plural democracy as set forth in Federalist #10. So long as participation is widespread, the pluralist system produces an approximation of policy in the "public interest" through multiple points and means of group access to policymakers, alternating policy wins and losses by various groups, and majority-building through bargaining and compromise. Such a system actually discourages political participation, however, and herein lies the primary cause of the contemporary crisis in American citizenship. A policy that at least on the surface appears to institutionalize the pursuit of naked self-interest naturally has no appeal for republican-minded citizens who believe that politics ought to be centered on the public good. They would rather withdraw from the political arena than debase themselves in the unseemly scramble for government distributions. By the same token, such a system discourages participation by members of small, far-flung or disorganized groups with little realistic prospect of asserting their claims against larger and better organized competitors. Finally, such a system even discourages active participation by members of groups that have succeeded in organizing to pursue their selfish interests. Once a pressure group is established, professional lobbyists and managers assume responsibility for advancing and protecting the group's interests, and the rank and file can reduce their level of involvement to financial support.

As levels of citizen participation in politics have declined in the last generation, leaving the political field to the intensely self-interested, the fatal flaws of interest-group liberalism and its attendant conception of citizenship have become increasingly apparent. In a sense, the same "rampant individualism" that undermined the Athenian and Roman republics is destroying plural democracy in the United States. As summarized by Fred Newmann (1989), numerous scholars have asserted that the present system fails to deliver the democratic promise of empowering the governed, produces vast inequalities in material opportunity, deprives humans of critical forms of intercourse and personal growth that only participatory democracy can provide, and threatens the very survival of the human species and the planet.

The remedy to this state of affairs is to re-imagine American politics and re-conceive the meaning of citizenship. Because the republicans were right and there is a relationship between the character of the citizenry and the character of their politics, re-imagining civic education will be an integral part of this process. Indeed, although civic learning takes place in a variety of settings, owing to dramatic changes in the demography of American society we rely increasingly on the schools to furnish instruction in the fundamental requisites of good citizenship.

Education and Citizenship

Within a republican contest, the relationship between education and citizenship is direct and ubiquitous. This is the case because to a large degree citizens must govern themselves. This self governing ability demands an ethical sense of self-interest together with an understanding of the public good. This ability also demands a factual understanding of how government and related systems function, as well as, a reflective and trained mind, and the willingness and skills to act. Education devoted to the health of the republic provides students with the opportunities to understand how their self-interest is tied to the well-being of the community. They understand the power inherent in the creative nature of knowledge, as well as, the social, economic, political, legal, and moral systems that drive and define our character. These students also understand the principles of rule of law, legal limits to freedom, and majority rule and minority rights. Without a conscious effort to teach and learn these things, a free republic will not long endure.

3

Citizenship Education: A Requisite Condition For Effective Policy Making

The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing.

Edmund Burke 1729-1797

As described in the preceding chapter, the concept of the "enlightened citizen" has evolved to include attributes of one's public life (Pericles quoted in Thucydides, 431 B.C.), an understanding of public happiness (Marcus Aurelius, 1964; Thomas Jefferson, 1776), community service (Boyer, 1981; and many others), and policy-making (Bragaw and Hartoonian, 1988). These attributes represent a more complete definition then the one that points to political behavior as the total dimension of citizenship.

These attributes also move us toward the idea that to be a citizen within the democratic tradition means being a policy maker. Such individuals are in touch with their cultural heritage. They possess working factual knowledge of the economic, political, ethical, and social dimensions of the human ecosystem in which we all live. They understand the principals of rule of law, legal limits to freedom, and majority rule with minority rights. They possess the attitudes of fair play, cooperation, and a demand for quality in the character and work of themselves and others. Finally, such individuals possess the ability and the will to fulfill their democratic obligations to help influence and make public policy, as well as, personal decisions.

The Private and Public Life of the Citizen

Here each individual is interested not only in his own affairs but in the affairs of state as well. Even those who are most occupied with their own business are extremely well informed on general politics. We do not say that a man who takes no interest in politics is a man who minds his own business; we say that he has no business here at all.

Pericles, 431 B.C.

Most of us are well aware of our private lives; that is, our relationships, loves, and conflicts within families, work settings, recreation, and places of worship. On the other hand, most of us are only dimly aware of our public life and how the private and public domains compliment each other. First of all, we should not think of our public and private lives as competing with one another. The notion of loving the private life more than the public or vice versa, is part of the either/or thinking that places society in jeopardy. Thomas Jefferson wanted us to focus on the relationship between our public and private lives when he introduced the concept of "public" happiness in his phrase, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Happiness here is not a private pursuit but a way to enhance private well being and happiness through public consciousness, service, and support. True happiness is almost always a function of giving, of service, and of inclusive consciousness... that is, living beyond the confines of self. Both our political and economics roots are firmly planted in the soil of inclusion. .. our private economic and political well being is dependent upon the well being of the community (Adam Smith, 1776).

The major understanding that we should develop within this inclusive notion for policy making is simply that any decision we make within one dimension will have implications within the other. The personal policies that we make in relationship to jobs, lifestyle, and family have consequences not only within our personal lives, but also within the public sphere. A decision to follow a particular lifestyle, for example, will carry consequences that are political, legal, economic, social, aesthetic, ethical, and ecological. All of these consequences have larger public policy ramifications. Public policy decisions, from raising interest rates to establishing headstart education programs, will have personal consequences. Virtually any issue we act upon will encompass both our private and public lives and we must become more aware of this relationship as we formulate policy.

A Model for Policy Making

One of the most severe problems facing educators is the disillusionment and cynicism that many students develop after hearing about the high ideals of the republic and then seeing and studying the real world around them. Notions of justice, equality, and freedom are almost laughable to many students.

The general policy making strategy suggested here explores the dynamics between the ideal and real; between social and personal principles and the "facts" of life. That is, a public dialogue is needed between what we believe and what we do. What are our social theories? And, how do we measure up to these principles? For the ideal and real to be in sparkling communication, citizens must get beyond naive realism (Chandler, 1987)—the belief in certainty and one truth; beyond multiple rationalism—the belief in no truth or complete relativism; to an understanding of construct validity (Cherryholmes, 1985)—the belief that if we study social theory (principles) as well as the empirical settings in question, and try to construct ways that will move society towards those principles, we may bring more meaning and justice into our lives and the life of the republic.

Barbara Tuchman (1978) articulates this situation when she writes about 14th century Europe. The parallels to our contemporary world cannot be missed by the reader, the important idea being the discrepancies between principals and practice. From our vantage points today, we should see the relevancy of this dynamic to citizenship education.

> *"Chivalry, the dominant political idea of the ruling class, left as great a gap between ideal and practice as religion. The ideal was a vision or order maintained by the warrior class and formulated in the image of the round table, nature's perfect shape. King Arthur's knights had ventured for the right against dragons, enchanters, and wicked men, establishing order in a wild world. So their living counterparts were supported, in theory, to serve as defenders of the Faith, upholders of justice, champions of the oppressed. In practice, they were themselves the oppressors, and by the 14th century the violence and lawlessness of men of the sword had become a major agency of disorder. When the gap between ideal and real becomes too wide, the system breaks down. Legend and story have always reflected this" (page XX).*

Policy making starts when we begin to ask if the gap between ideals and practices is too wide. Thus, a model for policy making should have us investigate where we find and how we develop our social principles and how we bring more congruency between the social theories we hold and the facts of everyday life.

It is within this tension of principles and practices that we begin to understand policy making both within our private and public lives. All of us can develop statements of principles based upon our (historical and contemporary) understandings of who we are. We can examine classic statements of our ideals. Documents such as the Declaration of Independence, the Preamble to the U.S. Constitution, Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I have a dream" speech,and so forth can help in this endeavor. Students can also assess current social and personal circumstances and develop action plans to help bring social theory and practice closer. This general pedagogical strategy is the foundation for a policy making model of instruction. It can help us focus on the future, use past experiences and wisdom, and evaluate the ethical health of the group and society.

Between the Ideal and the Real: The Practice of Policy Making

Building a bridge between created visions of what could be and our narratives of reality is the essence of policy making. The process and abilities needed for policy making are discussed in greater detail in chapter six, but at this point the overall contours of constructing a bridge from "A" to "B" need to be developed, knowing all the time that the old bridge will continue to be used. The metaphor of building a new bridge while the old one is in use is helpful for a variety of reasons. It suggests that building is not enough, one must also be aware of the current traffic patterns, aware of present conditions. A basic plan for a bridge or a design for policy making must address the construction of a timeline; the identification and quantity of resources needed; differences among the ideal, perceived, and implemented idea of what could be; and strategies for mid-term corrections in the plan. Armed with knowledge of who we are and that we want to be, the construction of policy can begin.

Citizens need a variety of abilities including acquiring a knowledge base, developing alternative patterns of thinking, creating new knowledge, communicating and negotiating, data analysis, judgement and reflection, constructing and implementing personal and public policies, and participation (Bragaw and Hartoonian, 1988). Students need to develop a knowledge base and make connections among previously learned and new information. Teachers should make sure that a dynamic base of facts is built into each lesson. However, those facts that are most helpful are those that build connections. For example, knowing the number of farmers in the United States is not as important as knowing the percent of farmers in the economy and their contribution to the Gross National Product. Knowing the size of the national debt is not as powerful as knowing how the national debt relates to national worth. Students can address facts by using material that raises questions about connections. The factual base that helps children see relationships and connections in their own lives is the one to start with and use.

Students need to use a variety of logical patterns and perspectives. Through this usage, students can see different ways of constructing cause and effect relationships. Determining causes means dealing with questions of explanation, evidence, and bias. For example, students can be helped to identify the political, economic, and historic rationales for U.S. involvement in the Middle East, and they can construct arguments for and against such involvement in ways that reflect the reasoning on all sides of the issue. This involves using inductive, deductive, and analogical reasoning abilities as well as understanding that logic and reason are based upon perspective and world view.

Students need to recognize that they gain new knowledge through reflective interaction with new information. Creating new knowledge means developing and designing new stories, explanations, models, or pictures or other ways of linking previously learned knowledge to new settings, questions, and issues. In this context, students may, for example, design and build new model communities, write dramas about social institutions, or prepare a position paper on changes in fiscal policy that could reflect serious thought about the economic health of the country.

Students need to develop data analysis skills. Informed citizens in an information age will need the ability to access data bases and information services, understand sophisticated verbal, pictorial, and number data, apply the logic of social data analysis, apply analysis techniques and concepts to achieve such abilities as:

- Explore the concept of chance, based upon repeated observations of real world events;
- Gather data by counting, by performing simple experiments, by measuring,or from various media sources such as news papers, almanac, and magazines;
- Construct graphs and charts;
- Explore the importance of statistics through citing their use in newspapers, magazines, and television;
- Explore different kinds of data generated by others and evaluate the source of those data;
- Explore the concept of probability by working with simple models;
- Construct scatter plots, circle grams, frequency polygons and state impressions obtained from these graphs;
- Distinguish between a survey and a census;
- Recognize the use and misuse of statistics; and
- Recognize invalid and valid reasoning.

Students need to develop abilities of judgement and reflection. Appropriate judgement and reflection about data, the development of questions, the procedures used to evaluate and implement hypothesis and projects should carry at least three important criteria for success. First of all, a civil setting for dialogue must be maintained. The personal feelings of students as well as the goals of the group must both be addressed. Second, various claims must be investigated. These include the analysis of *value claims* and the contradictions and redundancies often associated with them. For example, we want to protect ground water, yet we continue to use landfills for garbage that pollute the aquifer. The values of cost, health, convenience and beauty are at issue. In addition to value claims, there are *factual, definitional, legal,* and *contextual* or *framework* claims. For example within the issue of ground water pollution, the following questions could be asked: What are the facts (amount of pollutants)? What definition of polluted or "dangerous" water should we use? Who is legally responsible; individual citizens? City government? Constructor of the landfill? And, to what extent should territorial, context, or framework claims be considered? That is, to what extent does a local concern become a larger community issue?

Finally, with regard to judgement and reflection, there are substantive or knowledge issues that demand that we use the most up-to-date information and the most useful concepts, theories, and laws. For example, if we are to implement certain policies it is necessary to apply appropriate concepts and understandings from disciplines such as economics, political science, sociology and jurisprudence.

Students need to learn how to make enlightened personal and public policy decisions based on their knowledge and by participating in meaningful civic activities. Making personal and public policy decisions means that students can grasp a problem or issue, see possible cause and effect relationships between events and consequences, consider alternative relationships, evaluate alternatives,and make a decision based on concern for democratic society as well as individual well-being. Policy making means that students, through formal and informal learning, develop personal policies that relate to the various circumstances in which students find themselves, and helps them move toward the ideal situations they have envisioned.

Students need to develop the will and skills of participation. The ability of participation is as much a disposition as an ability; it is a habit of involvement. Four criteria that seem to be necessary for participation on the part of students include:

- addressing a real need;
- bringing the community issues into the school for discussion and reflective purposes;
- developing collaborative relationships; and
- developing some tangible product such as a booklet, video tape, or project for public review.

Another important ingredient in helping students participate in social and community issues is a perception that they can or will make a difference. To this end it is important to have students present a public statement of some kind. This might take the form of letters to legislatures, newspapers, or other citizens, news articles, partitions, resolutions, models (street/traffic design), booklets, and so forth. The significant idea is to have students create, design, and make public a statement of their participation in a public issue.

Policy-Making Skills

This model calls for students to possess certain abilities and dispositions. These include: (1) *envisioning*, that is, the identification, development, and evaluation of the social theories, principles, or preferred states of being toward which an individual or society wants to move; (2) *assessing* the *present situation*, including antecedent trend data as well as any quantitative and qualitative information and impressions related to the issues; (3) *constructing*, evaluating, and implementing *policies* and; (4) *evaluating* the preferred state *(principles)* so that mid-course corrections can be implemented. Thus, being a citizen in our republic means being a policy maker both in one's personal and public lives. This ability demands that students/citizens are clear thinkers, possess important knowledge, and have the inclination to become involved in civic affairs.

Envisioning

The process of creating an ideal state or situation can be exciting as well as frustrating. Our images of what could be are often limited by our own history and our reluctance to take risks. In addition, when dealing with social and civic policies, attention must be given to the tensions that often exist between foundation values of society and contemporary trends that reflect changes in demography, behavior patterns and beliefs or assumptions about people and institutions. For example, the social principles we hold for the United States and its welfare can include ideas from the European Enlightenment as well as beliefs that came from American Indian cultures and the cultures of fica and Asia. When we say that the republic of the United States values individual freedom as well as group rights, we are seeing a synthesis that is both old and new, western and non-western. Thus, as visions of our future are constructed, we must take account of the beliefs of the founding generation of the republic as well as the beliefs of Native Americans and the newer immigrants.

The construction of a preferred state, community or social situation will need a storehouse of ideas and imagination. We cannot build without "material." In this case, however, our materials are the concepts and intellectual constructs that incorporate the best of who we are and what we can become. These visions of a more ideal situation are also ethical statements that help us to distinguish between social and anti-social conduct and define limitations on freedom of actions in the struggle to sustain and improve the context or community in which life can mature in full dignity.

One category of necessary materials in this constructive process would include the *historical documents* that define our conceptions of the "more perfect union . . . of justice, defense, and domestic tranquility." Certainly the Declaration of Independence, the Northwest Ordinance, the Federalist Papers, the Constitution, the Supreme Court decisions, and selected speeches and essays can help us think about a better society. But, so too can other resources from the literature of the Middle East, the classical civilizations of Greece and Rome, and the Enlightenment to the scientific, religious, and practical arts of Africa, Asia, and the Americas. The constructor of the better vision or social setting must be acquainted with the literature of the spirit. That is, the literature of the hopes and dreams that thinkers from antiquity to the present have had and continue to have about how people should live in a state of social justice.

A second category of necessary materials for constructing ideals or preferred conditions is the *knowledge* and *experience* that citizens bring to the task. Asking students to produce conceptions out of their own life experiences and imaginations is necessary if they are to see ideal settings as real or authentic. The dynamic interaction of the ideas that appear in important documents with what students already value is the essence of developing a preferred social vision. The coming together of cultural and social principles on the one hand and personal knowledge and beliefs on the other provides a dialectic, a synthesis and an opportunity for a more complete vision of possible futures.

A third necessary ingredient in the construction of preferred states of being is the context or setting in which real conversation can take place. This context will provide an atmosphere where people listen to one another, where there is reflective sharing of ideas, where exchange is characterized by civility, and where students construct bridges of knowledge between what they already know and the new ideas they are learning. Thus, the quality of conversation is a function of the quality of setting. Let us look at these qualities in more detail.

Conversation as it is used within this model, carries attributes of civility, discipline, clarity, personal and group interest, responsibility to listen, honor, respect, and contribute to the dialogue. In addition, there is a logic and vocabulary to which all parties in the conversation can relate. A lack of common vocabulary can be a stumbling block to good conversation, but can be overcome with careful listening, reference materials, and attention to the sequence of the discussion. In real conversations, one wants to be understood, as well as, to understand and will work toward these goals by:

- Considering the linguistic background of the people involved;
- Paying attention to the ways in which the conversation relates to the lives of the people involved;
- Asking for examples or restatements when there is a chance of misunderstanding or misinterpretation on the part of people involved;
- Considering that conceptions people build through conversations are holistic, personal, and rooted in assumptions about society, people, events, and ideas gained over a life time;

- Taking what is said seriously because the chance exists that the conversation will move one toward a more complete under standing of the topic as well as a more complete understanding of oneself;

- Anticipating the direction of the conversation so contributions can be complimentary; and

- Taking responsibility to be understood by building logical sequences which others can follow and use.

Conversation, then, is purposeful discourse that helps individuals become loving critics of the group in which they are in the process of developing, be it a group of two or a whole community. Some common aspects of the school setting are dysfunctional for this type of conversation. While the research base is unclear (Goodlad, 1984), these items are suggested as things of which to be aware:

- Administrative/bureaucratic structures that place attention on form at the expense of substance and function; and complicate the system through the use of relevant or dysfunctional rules;

- Language that is ambivalent, unclear, misleading, and contradictory; and

- Attitudes and behaviors that are self serving.

The pedagogical strategies implied by the above discussion are not only appropriate to the constructing of the preferred condition, the ideal state, or vision of what could be, but are also appropriate to the other activities in which citizens engage when they develop and implement policies. That is, we need to be aware of the context in which policies are made. We need to provide students and citizens with the opportunity to create or produce knowledge and we need to be assured that the cultural heritage, however broadly defined, is represented in the conversation.

Visions of preferred states or conditions are constructed by students as the first step in policy making. In starting this process we might ask the following questions. How can this institution function better? What do we believe in as a people? Under what conditions should we live? How should people be treated? What vision do we have of the more ideal state, school, community, or family?

Present Conditions

The Declaration of Independence boldly states that all people are created equal. Our students look around and ask, "Are you crazy? Can't you see the real world?"

Trying to find out what is real is no simple matter. Reality, whatever else it is, is always colored by our perceptions, our values, and our history; in short, our world view. In the process of collecting impressions of the real world, we use words, numbers, pictures, and music. These symbols are used to create narrative explanations. These explanations are our understanding of reality. Certainly the use of data samples seems appropriate and anecdotal evidence can prove useful in the construction and enrichment of the narrative. But data samples and anecdotes are only parts of the whole and present methodological problems in constructing narratives.

While the narrative is our principle way of describing reality, some of us use more numbers or quantative analysis in this endeavor, and others of us are more comfortable with words. Still others of us prefer pictures or music. These ways of telling a story or ways of knowing are like instruments in an orchestra. At some time, one will take the lead while the others plays background, and at other times another methodology or instrument might play the lead. Together, however, they can provide a description of "what is" ... our present condition and a base for constructing a bridge between the real world and the envisioned one.

There are three criteria that a narrative must meet in order to offer an explanation. A narrative should accurately tell what happened over a period of time. Narratives are, or tend to be, sequential, cumulative, and tell of the birth and growth of an event, condition, or idea. Since reality and our perception of it is always changing, narratives try to explain change too. A narrative should include significant data (words, numbers, pictures, etc.) about the subject in arriving at a conclusion, but it needs to link these events in causal relationships. It highlights cause and effect relationships, not only antecedent - consequence relationships, but the association of phenomena that in any way seem desirable to the perceiver.

The narrative, then, is an accurate story about change. It illuminates in two directions. It sheds light on the world that our senses try to touch, and it reflects the value premises or biases that we hold. The narrative tries to bring symbol and meaning together. It orients us to the reality we live in, placing us in a temporal and spatial framework.

Any story about reality will be constructed from a narrative of some kind and it will contain the following considerations. It will deal with change and continuity, it will establish some sense of causality (how and why did this come to happen?), and it will be placed within a temporal and spatial framework. The story will also be determined by the nature and quality of evidence (data) and the biases or frame of reference of the reporter or story teller. Thus, reality is not a simple matter. It is extremely difficult to find out and report on what is really happening in the social, political, economic, and natural world.

Constructing, Evaluating, and Implementing Policy

The following case study about the Hetch Hetchy Valley and its discussion can be used in constructing, evaluating, and implementing private and public policy.

Introduction

The battle over the Hetch Hetchy Valley began in the 1890's. At that time, the city of San Francisco faced a severe shortage of fresh water. The population was increasing while existing supplies of water decreased. As this problem became more critical, city officials and engineers started to look for new water reserves. Since the Tuolumne River in the Hetch Hetchy Valley was only 150 miles from the city, this area became one choice alternative. City engineers made plans to dam the Tuolumne River and flood the valley floor. Once the dam was completed, they would build a pipeline to San Francisco. The Hetch Hetchy Dam could store water, produce electricity, and help control floods. The only problem with this plan was that Hetch Hetchy was part of a national park. Therefore, city officials had to gain approval from the United States Department of the Interior before they could act.

In their request for permission to use Hetch Hetchy, city officials noted the city's need for an economical and reliable water supply. They noted that the city bought water from the Spring Valley Water Company at high prices. The Spring Valley Company had proved unreliable and unable to meet San Francisco's growing demand for water. On April 18, 1906, San Francisco was hit by an earthquake and a major fire. This event furnished city officials with even stronger arguments for needing a more reliable water supply. City officials argued that the Tuolumne River could furnish adequate and economical supplies of water and electric power.

The United States Department of the Interior supported San Francisco's plans for the Hetch Hetchy Valley. However, opposition from the Sierra Club and other environmental groups required the Secretary of the Interior to review his position. These environmental groups recognized San Francisco's need for a reliable and economical supply of water. However, they argued that other sources existed. Sierra Club officials felt that since the Tuolumne River and Hetch Hetchy Valley were part of a national park, they should not be disturbed. Many conservationists felt that if this area was opened to use, other national parks would follow. For nine years the city of San Francisco and the Sierra Club debated the issue of the Hetch Hetchy Valley.

Points of View

A Traveler's View:

One traveler to the Hetch Hetchy Valley described it this way: The Hetch Hetchy is between 3,800 and 3,900 feet above sea level. It is three miles long east and west, but it is divided into two parts by a wall of granite rock, which nearly closes the valley in the center. The part of the Valley below this wall is a large open meadow, with excellent grass and trees along the edge. The Tuolumne River flows through this part of the Valley. The upper part of the Valley, east of the granite wall, is well timbered and grassed. The walls of the Valley are not quite as high as those of Yosemite Valley. In the spring, winter snows melt to form large streams which fall from the high cliffs. The largest falls, Ketch Hetchy Fall, is 1700 feet high. The volume of water is much larger than that of Yosemite Fall, and in the spring, its noise can be heard for miles.[2]

The Mayor's View:

San Francisco has asked Congress to grant it the use of the Hetch Hetchy Valley and the Tuolumne River. San Francisco needs this area for a dam site which will provide water, and control floods. We know that the Hetch Hetchy Valley is one of a dozen mountain gorges, and while it is beautiful, it is not any more beautiful than many others. Hetch Hetchy is difficult to get to. One must travel over steep trails which are only open three months each year. Few people ever visit this valley. Besides,there are other scenic areas in California. The Yosemite Valley, for example, serves large numbers of visitors each year.

After the recent earthquake and fire (April 18, 1906), San Francisco must rebuild. We cannot afford a more expensive water supply than Hetch Hetchy. Streets, sewers, jails, schools, hospitals, libraries, and city hall must be rebuilt. We must also find a more suitable replacement for the Spring Valley Water Company. Remember, that water supplier failed us during our recent disaster.

The best use for water is use by cities and industries. The 800,000 people living in San Francisco need a dependable water supply. They need a reservoir which can furnish water and power for years to come. I believe the Tuolumne River in the Hetch Hetchy Valley will fill our needs. At the same time, the Hetch Hetchy reservoir will serve as a recreation area. We will build good roads to the new lake and open the area for camping and fishing.

Certainly, conservationists must agree that we must use our resources for the good of all citizens. In the case of Hetch Hetchy, we can use a valuable resource and still protect the beauty of nature.[3]

The Sierra Club's View:

Hetch Hetchy Valley, far from being a plain, common rockbound meadow, as many who have not seen seem to suppose, is a grand landscape garden, one of Nature's rarest and most precious mountain temples. As in Yosemite, the rocks of its walls seem to glow with life, giving welcome to storms and calms alike, their brows in the sky, their feet set in the groves and gay flowery meadows, while birds, bees, and butterflies help the river and waterfalls to stir all the air into music.

Sad to say, this most precious and majestic feature of the Yosemite National Park, one of the greatest of all our natural resources for the joy and health and peace of our people, is in danger of being dammed and made into a reservoir to help San Francisco with water and light. Thus it will be flooded from wall to wall and its gardens and groves buried one or two hundred feet deep. This grossly destructive commercial scheme has been planned and urged for a long time. This area was picked because of the cheapness of the dam.

That anyone would try to destroy Hetch Hetchy seems incredible; but experience shows that there are people good and bad enough to do anything. The supporters of the dam plan argue a lot of bad arguments to prove that the only right thing to do with our national parks is to destroy them bit by bit.

Dam Hetch Hetchy! We might as well dam for water-tanks, the people's cathedrals and churches, for no holier temple has ever been created by the heart of many than this valley.[4]

"Mr. Conservation's" View:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, my testimony will be short. I understand that you very seldom have the opportunity of dealing with any problem before the Committee on Public Lands which has been so thoroughly discussed as this one. This problem has been around now, I should say, for more than ten years and arguments for and against the San Francisco plan have been discussed over and over again. So we come now face to face with the perfectly clear question of what is the best use to which this water that flows out of the Sierras can be put. As we all know there is not use of water that is higher than the domestic use. When there is, as the engineers tell us, no other source of water that is anything like this one; if Hetch Hetchy is the best, and, within reasonable limits of cost, the only way to supply San Francisco with water, we come right to the question of whether it is better to leave this Valley in a state of Nature or use it for the benefit and good of San Francisco.

Now, the basic rule of conservation is that of use, to take every part of the land and its resources and put it to that use which will best serve the most people. If we look at all the arguments over Hetch Hetchy, we find that its best use would be to serve the city of San Francisco.

There would be, of course, small changes which would take place if the plan were accepted. Roads would be built, trails laid out, and a telephone system in the Valley would help combat forest fires. The new road would allow more people to enjoy the Hetch Hetchy Reservoir.

I agree that we should try to leave area in their natural state. However,in this case, there are other things to think about. For example, San Francisco's great need for water, electric power and flood control. I have never been able to see that there was any reasonable argument against using this Valley and river as a water supply for the city of San Francisco.[5]

Developing Policy

Consider the following framework as a way to think about and develop policy. The Hetch Hetchy Valley case is presented here, but this framework can be used with other issues as well.

Part I: Defining the Issue and Writing Your Policy Statement

A. State the problem and/or issue; include factual claims, definitional claims, legal claims (if any), and value claims.

B. Write a statement of alternative situations which present the possibility of a better condition (ideal).

C. Write a summary statement of the present situation (real).

D. Write an evaluation of the status of both the present and ideal conditions. Include time and space, context, public attitudes, official posturing, and so forth.

E. Write a statement which lays out your policy concerning this issue. Include your own position regarding this issue, i.e., where do you stand on the issue? What ideal position do you support? What consequences do you see with regard to your position?

Part II: Identifying the Relationships Between Private and Public Policies

A. What public policy (persuasion, consumerism, political actions, legal actions, ecomanagement) might effectively and responsibility help to resolve this issue?

B. Which private policy do you consider to be the most powerful one available for helping resolve this issue?

C. How would the private and public policies complement each other?

Part III: Applying Evaluation Criteria

Evaluate your policies (stated above) by answering the following questions.

A. Is there sufficient evidence to warrant a clear description of the situation?

B. Are there other alternative policies and actions (ideal situations) available for use? What are they?

C. Why is this action the most effective one available?

D. What are the possible legal consequences of this policy?

E. What are the possible social consequences of this action?

F. What are the possible economic consequences of this action?

G. What are the possible political consequences of this action?

H. Do your personal values support the action?

I. Do you understand the procedures necessary to take this action? Briefly describe them.

J. Do you have all of the resources needed to make this action effective?

Part IV: Deciding What To Do

What are your final policy recommendations?

Public:

Private:

Conclusion

In this chapter, the notion of using policy orientated instruction as a focus for a civic's course was described. Policy making in its broadest sense is the fundamental activity of the citizen, and provides our operational definition of what it means to be civically literate within a democratic republic. As used here, a general model of policy oriented instruction includes the envisioning of the more "ideal" setting or circumstance, the description of a "real" situation, and the construction of a plan of action to move from the present circumstance to the more ideal one. Factual knowledge of our basic systems is a necessary prerequisite, as are citizenship skills, democratic values and the disposition to hold private and public notions together within a more inclusive sense of responsibility. The necessary conditions of classroom dialogue were described, as was the importance of engaging the student/citizen in real issues that impact on everyday life. Finally, as we practice courtesy and concern, as well as take on a research and development mindset toward our civic obligations, the use of policy oriented instructional strategies should prepare students to effectively carry out the responsibilities of citizenship. The next chapter explores the psycho-social development of young adolescents to provide a context for civics instruction.

Notes

[1] This case study was modified from information presented in Gregory, G. P. (1977), Environmental Concerns: The Nation, New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, Inc.

[2] This description of Hetch Hetchy is adapted from one written by J.D. Whitney, which was originally published in the 1868 edition of The Yosemite Book.

[3] This letter was written by James D. Phelan, mayor of San Francisco from 1897 to 1902. The letter appeared in a weekly magazine, Outlook Magazine, February 13, 1909.

[4] This passage was first published in The Yosemite, by John Muir, 1912, and is collected in The American Environment: Readings in the History of Conservation, edited by Roderick Nash, 1968.

[5] Gifford Pinchot was a former Chief Forester who was known as "Mr. Conservation" to his generation. This passage is part of his testimony during an appearance in 1913 before the House Committee on Public Lands, which was debating the Hetch Hetchy issue.

4

The Young Adolescent: Developmental Implications For Civics Instruction

Between childhood and adulthood is a transitional period in each person's life called adolescence. For some it is the best of times - remembered fondly as a time in which the adult that we have happily become took shape. For others, adolescence is the worst of times - a period which is painfully remembered and in which the seeds of future discontent and dysfunctional lives were sown. For hardly anyone, however, is adolescence a time of little lasting import. It is the purpose of this chapter to summarize what is known about the nature of early adolescence, and explore how environmental influences are affecting early adolescence in the last two decades of the twentieth century.

The current era is a particularly perilous one for youth. A number of psychological perspectives on the nature of early adolescence that help to understand this, at times, chaotic period of human development will be presented. It will be demonstrated that the conjunction of interest and capacity for learning along with dramatic shifts in cognitive development make early adolescence a "critical moment" for learning civic knowledge and values. The literature on the school's potential to influence adolescent development will be reviewed, and finally the chapter will close with a discussion of the implications of the above for the OUR DEMOCRACY project.

The Experience of Early Adolescence

The Ecology of Adolescent Activity and Experience

What is it like to be a typical adolescent in today's society? Descriptions are not found easily. Case studies or autobiographical accounts may provide insightful information on individual experiences, but lack the ability to generalize. Attempts to develop broader descriptions tend to be somewhat superficial in that they typically rely only on what can be assessed by questionnaires or observed by the researcher. These forms of information about early adolescence are limited by the questionable validity of self report data and the potential for observers to project their preconceptions onto what is being observed. In addition, the usual studies on adolescence typically fail to fully sample the broad range of activities, thoughts, and feelings experienced in a typical adolescent's day.

One innovative approach to studying the ecology of adolescent experience that overcomes some of these limitations is the Experience Sampling Method developed by Csikszentmihalyi and Larson (1984). This approach outfits each member of the sample with an electronic paging device (a beeper) and a pad of self-report forms. At one random moment within every two hour period (between 7:30 am and 10:30 pm - extended to 1:30 am on weekends) a signal is sent for the subjects to fill out a self-report form. On the form, the subjects report on a constellation of motivational and affective factors associated with the contexts they are involved with at the time. In their 1984 study, Csikszentmihalyi and Larson report data from the beeped reports of 75 teenagers from an economically and ethnically diverse community bordering Chicago.

Teens in the Csikszentmihalyi and Larsen study were found to spend 32% of their time in school, 41% at home and 32% in public settings. Forty percent of the adolescents' time was spent on leisure activities such a socializing with peers or watching TV; 29% of their time was spent in productive activities such a school, homework, or a job; and 31% of their time was spent in maintenance activities such as eating and sleeping. The typical adolescent spends only 45 minutes a day exclusively with a parent or parents; the vast majority of that time (4O minutes) was spent with the mother. The remainder of the time spent at home was either with siblings or in solitude. In contrast with the less than one hour per day spent with parents, the typical teen spends four hours a day with peers. From the tenth to the twelfth grade there was a steady increase in amount of time spent with peers. The amount of time spent with families decreased by half between the ages of 10 and 15 (Csikszentmihalyi & McCormack, 1986), and it was during the junior high school years that youth began to name friends as more significant to them than parents (Bowerman & Kinch, 1959).

Teachers occupy the largest amount of teens' time spent with adults, about 3 hours. However, this time consists almost entirely of impersonal class instruction time. Almost never do students report talking personally to a teacher. Typically time spent with peers was spent in conversation; the time spent with parents was predominately spent watching TV. Overall it was reported that teens spent only 1.6 of their time engaged in personal contact with adults and only a small percentage of this involved meaningful conversation. This predominance of talk with agemates over talk with adults raises questions regarding the extent to which contemporary adolescent experience is conducive to the learning of adult roles and values. On the rare occasions when adolescents were involved in activities conducive to the learning of adult values and roles they tended to report strongly negative feelings regarding the experience. The time each day that adolescents report the most positive feelings were those that involved organized socializing in such activities as sports, hobbies, and music.

The Psycho-Social Crisis of Adolescence

Adolescence is a time of ambiguity when the individual is neither child nor adult and lacks a clear and satisfying definition of self. Adolescents, therefore, are at risk in terms of whether their decisions regarding future growth are adaptive or maladaptive. While each era poses unique challenges regarding the nurture and care of youth, the last two decades of the 20th century seem especially perilous ones for the critical transitions of adolescence. Hamburg and Takanishi(1989) have identified five phenomena that make adolescence in this era even more difficult for youth.

The most dramatic and unparalleled social phenomena affecting adolescence today is the erosion of family and other social support networks. Stable home environments and the presence of extended families have in the past provided the warm nutrient and protective environment to assist youth through troubled times. In the last forty years the family environment in the United States has changed dramatically. In 1950 there was one divorce for every four marriages in America. By 1960 that number had risen to one divorce for every three marriages and in the 1980s half of all marriages were ending in divorce (Hacker,1983).

Between 1970 and 1989 the number of families maintained by single women grew from 2.8 million to 10.9 million, an increase of 98% (Wentzel, 1990). Thirty-eight percent of white children born in 1980 will be members of single parent households for some period of time before age 16; the figure for African American youth is a distressing 75%. Since current research indicates that early separation or emotional autonomy from family or significant adults can have a negative effect on the adolescent (Steinberg and Silverberg, 1986; Steinberg, 1987), we can expect to find the adolescent of the 1990s increasingly at risk if the above trends are not reversed.

A second phenomena is the lengthening period of adolescence. The onset of puberty has begun to occur earlier. Yet social changes have significantly postponed the end of adolescence and dependency. For many youth this protracted period of adolescence has introduced a high degree of uncertainty into their lives.

Third, there is a growing disjunction between biological and social development. Although the adolescent may reach physical maturity before the age of 16, cognitive development does not reach maturity much before the end of the teens; social maturity lags even further behind. Young adolescents are able to, and many do, make fateful decisions that effect their entire lives before they are cognitively and socially mature.

A fourth difficulty experienced by adolescents today is confusion about adult roles and difficulty foreseeing the future. As noted above, many youth have little contact with adults in activities conducive to learning adult roles and when they do they generally do not have positive experiences regarding the experience. In addition, the fast pace of technological and vocational change also make identifying viable alternatives difficult. The result of these experiences may be as Biff noted in Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*, "I just can't take hold, Mom, I can't take hold of some kind of a life."

A final challenge of contemporary life for the development of adolescents is their greater access to health-threatening activities. Increasingly youth are exposed to sexuality, alcohol, drugs, smoking, automobiles, weapons, and a variety of other

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temptations to engage in health-threatening behaviors. To the extent that youth feel that they are a valued and important member of a group, are competent with the social skills to cope successfully with the demands of today's society, and believe in a promising future with real opportunities, they can marshall the restraint to resist such negative influences. However, as the information presented above suggests, much of the social support, personal skills, and social perspective necessary for normal development is missing in the experience of many adolescents. Evidence of the tragic consequences of this state of affairs can be documented in the data on the declining well-being of youth.

A number of disturbing demographic trends regarding dysfunctional personal and social behavior provides evidence of the stress of contemporary society on adolescent development. Two recent articles, based on national statistical data sources, have summarized these trends (Wynne & Hess, 1986; Uhlenberg & Eggebeen, 1986). Between 1960 and 1980, among whites between the ages of 15 and 19, the most advantaged of contemporary youth, death rates by motor vehicles has increased 42%, by homicide increased 231.8%, and by suicide increased 139.5%. Teenage males account for the majority of these figures. A hopeful trend is that all of these rates have shown a slight decline in the most recent statistics from the 1980s.

In 1984, the out-of-wedlock birth rate for white females aged 15-19 was at the highest point since national recordkeeping began in 1940. In 1960, the birth rate of unmarried white females between the ages of 15 and 19 was 6.6 per 1,000. By 1980 that figure had risen to 15.9 per 1,000; an increase of 140.9%. Furthermore, to an increasing extent pregnancies of teenagers are ending in abortion rather than live births. The proportion of pregnancies terminated by abortion among 15 to 19 year old women has increased from 28% in 1973, the year of Roe v. Wade, to 44% in 1980. Changes in sexual activity have also shown dramatic increases. For example, national surveys of females aged 16-17 found that the proportion reporting having had sexual intercourse doubled between 1971 and 1979.

Although the most recent data on adolescents' use of illicit drugs has shown some stabilization, the level of substance abuse remains at a disheartening level. For example, among high school seniors in their class of 1985, 85% reported using alcohol in the last twelve months; 46% reported using marijuana and 27% using some other illicit drug. Records on white teenagers between the ages of 12 and 17 indicate that since the early 1970s use of alcohol is up over 50% and use of other drugs is up over 125%.

Additional indicators of the well-being of contemporary adolescents come from delinquency rates, psychological health, and academic performance. The overall official delinquency rate for teens aged 10-17 increased 130% between 1960 and 1980. Although there is no accurate national tabulation on the number of teens receiving psychological care, Wynne and Hess (1986) cite data from the Minneapolis area that indicate an increase of 220% in the number of teens institutionalized for psychiatric care between 1976 and 1985. Finally, there is the simple fact that on almost all standardized tests the average national performance has steadily declined since the 1960s.

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To sum up, these are difficult times in which youth are making the transition from childhood to adulthood. The family, school, and social environments in which many adolescents live out their teenage years are not currently providing experiences and opportunities for growth toward healthy adulthood. The results of this failure may be seen in the declining well-being of adolescents.

Developmental Perspectives on Early Adolescence

To better understand how schools and the curriculum can assist adolescent development into positive and productive citizens, educators need an understanding of the major developmental characteristics of the youth as well as an understanding of the status of early adolescence in contemporary society. A developmental perspective permits one to better understand how this environment is experienced by youth, what parts of the environment are facilitative and meaningful as well as what parts of the environment are dysfunctional and why. Finally, a developmental perspective on early adolescence will allow those involved with the education of youth to design school experiences that are challenging, meaningful and in the fullest meaning of the word - educative.

The research literature on early adolescence contains a welter of perspectives, each with specialized vocabularies and interpretations of the phenomena. There exists no agreed upon a "conceptual umbrella" for explaining early adolescence. The well-known adage of the four blind men's various descriptions of the elephant is an appropriate metaphor for this literature. The following developmental perspective on early adolescence is organized under two general headings: biological and cognitive development, and psycho-social development within a social context. These two general perspectives, as will be seen, are not mutually exclusive, however the psycho-social changes are secondary, that is, derived from and dependent upon the biological and cognitive changes occurring. The perspectives selected for discussion below are ones that provide insight into the planning of school curricula and school contexts that will assist the multiple transitions of adolescence and growth toward productive citizenship.

While there exists little consensus among professionals on how to define the term "adolescence," all descriptions of adolescence inevitably begin with a discussion of the onset and course of puberty. A concise biological definition of adolescence is: "that span of a young persons life between the obvious onset of puberty and the completion of bone growth" (Konopka, 1973, p.292). Additional biological indicators of early adolescence are a growth spurt, the appearance of secondary sex characteristics, and menstruation/ejaculation. Outwardly, what has been a child now begins to assume the appearance of an adult. While the onset of puberty may be dramatic for the adults who witness it, it is equally so for the individual. Not only do the adults that interact with the individual begin to form new expectations of him/her, the young adolescent also begins to form new assumptions regarding who they are. The young adolescent is no longer the "little kid" of the past, but also is not yet the adult that is bound to come. The well-known physical changes that are associated with the onset of puberty are accompanied by new understandings about oneself as well as potentials for thought that are qualitatively different from that of childhood. Once we leave the biological definition of adolescence, the experience and interpretation becomes social, and in some part historical, in nature.

One of the seminal contributions to the psychological literature on early adolescence is that of Jean Piaget (Piaget & Inhelder, 1958). Piaget, in his systematic description of the development of cognition from childhood to adolescence, places the transition from concrete operations to formal operations as a key event in adolescence. At the stage of concrete operations the youth can only reason about those things which he/she has had direct personal experience. It is the ability to think about possibilities outside the immediate environment that is the new feature of adolescent thinking. Adolescents develop the ability to go beyond the information given and to think abstractly about possibility, hypothesis, principle, and the ideal. At this stage, adolescents can take their own thought as an object and reason about it. Keating (1980) has described five major outcomes associated with the development of formal operations during adolescence:

1. In contrast to childhood thinking, with its sensible here-and-now emphasis, adolescent thinking is associated with the world of possibilities. With an ever-increasing ability to use abstractions, the adolescent can distinguish the real and the concrete from the abstract and the possible. Not only is the observable here-and-now world interesting, but the world that could be, or should be, becomes a topic of interest.

2. Through the ability to test hypotheses scientific reasoning emerges. Hypothetical reasoning enables the adolescent to recognize the notion of falsification; that is, hypotheses can be generated and then eliminated as insupportable, no matter how appealing they may be at first glance.

3. The adolescent can now think about the future by planning and exploring the possibilities of causation. The adolescent can consider contingencies and take preventative action.

4. Thinking about thoughts (meta-cognition) is now possible. The adolescent becomes aware of cognitive activities and the mechanisms that make the cognitive process efficient or inefficient and spends time considering the internal cognitive regulation of how and what one thinks. Thus introspection (or self-examination) becomes an integral part of everyday life.

5. Finally, the sophistication of formal operations opens the door to new topics and an expansion of thought. Horizons broaden, not the least of which include such abstract ideas as religion, justice, morality and identity. Higgins (1980) and Kurdek (1978) also point out that students can now think from another's perspective. Adolescents are developing role-taking skills that allow them to identify with others and to see issues from the perspective of other points of view.

The ability of young adolescents to negotiate the psychosocial issues of their transition is determined by a variety of factors including the physiological changes occurring in the child, the reaction of those around the adolescent to those changes, and their increased capacity for abstract thought. The issues confronting them have been succinctly summarized by Hill (1980):

Table 1

Psychosocial Issues in Adolescent Development

Issue	***Adolescent Change***
Attachment	*Transforming childhood social bonds to parents to bonds acceptable between parents and their adult children*
Autonomy	*Extending self initiated activity and confidence to wider behavioral realms.*
Sexuality	*Transforming social roles and gender identity to incorporate sexual activity with others*
Intimacy	*Transforming acquaintanceships into friendships; deepening and broadening capacities for self-disclosure, affective perspective-taking, and altruism*
Achievement	*Focusing industry and ambition into channels that are future-oriented and realistic*
Identity	*Transforming images of self to accommodate primary and secondary changes; coordinating images to attain a self-theory that incorporates uniqueness and continuity through time*

At the same time that these psychosocial issues must be addressed by the adolescent, changes are taking place in adolescents' understanding and thinking about themselves which necessarily shape these changes, as well as, their understanding and communication regarding the social, political, and moral world around them. It is during early adolescence that the mature understanding of the civic environment begins to take shape. This development of a mature understanding of the civic environment involves both the acquisition of knowledge as well as the nature of that knowledge. The onset of adolescence signals a unique time in human development in terms of the individuals capacity for learning about the world. As David Elkind, the noted psychologist has observed, "adolescence seems...to be the period during which the capacity to acquire and to utilize knowledge reaches its peak of efficiency" (Elkind, 1968, p.130).

At the same time that the early adolescent has the increased capacity for learning about the civic environment, the nature of that learning, due to more cognitively mature thought, becomes more consistent with the normative foundations of our civic life as expressed by the framers of our constitution. It is the cognitive shift to formal operations that makes it possible for the adolescents to consciously examine the values that they hold. It is during early adolescence that individuals begin to recognize that they are a part of a social order and begin to have the potential to leave behind the simplistic morality of childhood in which right or wrong are determined from an egotistical point of view. According to the political socialization literature, while young children in our society develop generally positive attitudes toward our political institutions and processes, their understanding remains a naive one. It is during this critical period of human development that the real democratic citizen, in terms of knowledge and values, takes shape; for it is at this time that the increased capacity for learning, motivation and interest about social and political life and cognitive development come together to comprise a "critical moment" for civics instruction. Understanding this opportunity requires a more detailed understanding of the nature of the changes in the adolescent's thinking about the social, moral, and political realms.

The most influential researcher of this century in the area of moral development was Lawrence Kohlberg. Kohlberg's contribution was to identify and empirically validate the existence of five invariant developmental stages of moral reasoning. Using a longitudinal research design that now spans three decades, Kohlberg and his associates tracked the reasoning of 58 boys who at the beginning of the study were 10, 13 and 16 years of age. In interviews that reoccurred every 3 to 4 years, Kohlberg and his associates were able to describe a series of shifts in reasons the sample used to defend moral choices (Colby, Kohlberg, Gibbs, & Lieberman, 1983). For the purpose of the study of early adolescence only the first four stages have relevance:

Stage 1 - Heteronomous morality:

Doing what is right consists of avoiding breaking rules backed by punishment, obedience for its own sake, and avoiding damage to persons and property. The socio-moral perspective is an egocentric point of view. The youth does not consider the interests of others or recognize that they differ from his/her own. Actions are considered physically rather than in terms of the psychological interests of others.

Stage 2 - Individualism, instrumental purpose and exchange:

Doing what's right consists of following rules only when they are in one's own immediate interests. One acts so as to meet one's own needs and lets others pursue their own interests. Right is also what's fair, what's an equal exchange, a deal, an agreement. The view of society is a concrete individualistic perspective. One is aware that everybody has his own interests to pursue and these conflict, so that right is relative.

Stage 3 - Mutual interpersonal expectations, relations and interpersonal conformity:

Doing what's right consists of living up to what is expected by people close to you or what people in general expect of people in your role as son, brother, friend, etc. It also means maintaining positive interpersonal relationships. The societal perspective is one of the individual in relationships with other individuals. There is an awareness that shared feelings, agreements, and expectation take precedent over individual interests, however, one does not yet consider a generalized system perspective.

Stage 4 - Social system and conscience:

Doing right consists of fulfilling the actual duties to which you have agreed. Laws are to be upheld and one should contribute to society. One differentiates a societal point of view from interpersonal agreement or motives. One considers individual relations in terms of their place within the system.

Among American middle class children, the usage of stages 1 & 2 drops in percentage from age 10 to age 13. While 10 year olds use a mixture of stage 1, 2, & 3 in their moral reasoning, 13 year-olds use primarily stage 3 reasoning. From ages 13 to 16 adolescent's usage of stage 3 remains stable, and a rise occurs in usage of stage 4 reasoning. These stage shifts indicate that during early adolescence an important change occurs in the understanding of morality and one's place in society. That change is from an egocentric view where one's own interests predominate to a view where others and society in general may have legitimate claims on our socio-moral behavior and the perceived right thing to do may be to heed those claims. One now sees oneself as a member of a social system where one has an obligation to conform to that social system's norms.

Paralleling the development of understanding of morality and society is the development of understanding of our legal and political systems. Using cognitive developmental theory, Tapp and Kohlberg (1971) have described the developing senses of law and legal justice among youth. Tapp and Kohlberg, with samples of elementary, middle school and college students, found consistent developmental movement from preconventional law-obeying, to a conventional law-maintaining, to a postconventional lawmaking perspective. Among primary school children the purpose of laws is to prevent concrete physical harm; they function as proscriptions or flat commands that restrain action. One conforms to laws in order to avoid punishment, that is, one obeys laws because, if one doesn't, one will get caught and thrown in jail. When youth reach early adolescence (middle school), they still are concerned about physical consequences of law-breaking, but now laws are seen as promoting social order. The breaking of laws are now seen as leading to anarchy, disorder or chaos. The primary reason for obeying laws is that it is in everyone's interest, including one's own, to live in a stable society.

In addition to the important shifts in student understanding of the moral and legal basis of society, policy thought and economic understanding also show significant changes during early adolescence. The shifts that occur during this period in the adolescent's understanding of political and economic phenomena are consistent with the research cited above by Piaget and Kohlberg that noted a shift from concrete and egocentric perspectives to more abstract and sociocentric perspectives. For example, Adelson and O'Neil (1966) found that younger adolescents focus on personal consequences and individual needs in considering political conflict, whereas older teens tend to emphasize collective consequences and communal needs.

Adelson (1971) has summarized the results from two studies based on adolescents' thinking about public policy questions. As Adelson notes the results indicate that a developmental interpretation is warranted by the data. In general among younger adolescents' (ages 11 to 13) thought processes were limited to the concrete: "The processes and institutions of society were personalized. When we ask him about the law, he speaks of the teacher, the principal, the student" (pp. 1015-1016). The older adolescent (ages 15 to 18) was found to be capable of abstract thought: "He illuminates a principle with a concrete instance, or having mentioned specific examples, he seeks and finds the abstract category that binds them" (p. 1015). In addition Adelson noted that adolescent policy thinking becomes less authoritarian, that is, the purpose of political institutions is not seen as primarily to maintain order (coercive). Early adolescence is the time when youth first develop the capacity for ideology - a coherent set of political principles and attitudes. Gallatin (1985) in a more recent study found similar developmental trends in policy thought among adolescents.

Schug (1981) in a review of the research on the development of economic reasoning among children and adolescents concludes that "Economic reasoning develops in a stage-like manner similar to Piagetian stages of cognitive development. The ideas becomes more abstract, other directed, and flexible with increasing age" (p.32). This view has been further substantiated by interview studies with youth (Schug and Birkey, 1985; Armento, 1982).

Based on a wide ranging variety of studies, it is apparent that there are significant developmental shifts in adolescents' understanding of the political, economic, legal, social, and moral environment around them. If the school and its curriculum are to provide an optimal education for young adolescents, it is important that teachers and curriculum developers understand the nature of these developmental trends and how instruction that is developmentally appropriate can be presented. In the next section, how the schools can effectively use knowledge on adolescent development to provide better education will be discussed.

Research on Schools Potential Contribution to Early Adolescent Learning and Development

The research concerning development during early adolescence generally does not include an analysis of the influence of schooling. While there can be little doubt that biological, cognitive, and social development are highly salient characteristics in shaping the character of early adolescents, it is also the case that schooling is a central and important fact of life during this period of development. It has long been a tenet of American education that the goals of education should include more than the academic and intellectual; for example, students should learn to be able to function positively in social settings and should learn the ways of thinking, feeling and acting that are required for good citizenship. Over the past two decades a body of research has evolved that throws light on the potential of schooling to positively influence the social and moral development of early adolescents. There are three general areas in which there exists a sufficiently large collection of studies containing a consistent pattern of findings. These research areas are: moral discussion, cooperative learning, and school/classroom climate. Other areas are important, but these are the ones that can be discussed with confidence based on research.

Moral Discussion

The moral dilemma discussion approach of Lawrence Kohlberg holds that if students are exposed to cognitive moral conflict through discussions of moral dilemmas and concomitantly exposed to reasoning that is slightly more advanced than their own, then they will slowly begin to use that higher stage thinking in their own deliberations. This approach to moral or values education has been extensively researched with well over one hundred controlled studies. Recent reviews of this body of research have documented the overall efficacy of the methodology (Enright, Lapsley, & Levy, 1983; Leming, 1985; Schlaefli, Rest, & Thoma, 1985). Of special interest to this chapter is the review of research done by Enright, Lapsley, Harris & Shawver (1983) that covers twenty-one studies that include early adolescents as subjects.

The typical moral dilemma discussion intervention study first involves interviewing the individual subjects on a series of moral dilemmas and scoring transcriptions of the interviews for stage of moral reasoning. Alternately some studies use an objective measure of moral reasoning for the pre and post-test (Rest, 1986). Next follows a series of class discussions of moral dilemmas, at least one per week, for at least a semester (see Arbuthnot & Faust, 1981 for a detailed description of the approach). Interventions of shorter durations do not consistently show the cognitive growth of longer durations. The most consistent results have been obtained in year-long interventions. This is probably due to the fact that cognitive reorganization of one's thought is a complex psychological phenomenon and cannot be rushed. At the end of the intervention period, the subjects' moral reasoning is again assessed and the mean stage of moral reasoning for the intervention group is compared to the mean reasoning of a control group that did not regularly discuss moral dilemmas as a part of their school experience.

In over 75% of the studies with young adolescents, the moral discussion class exceeded the control class in mean upward stage movement. The extent of the change varied from study to study, but typically involved upward movement of one-sixth to one-half a stage. Given that most early adolescents reason primarily with a mixture of stage two and three reasoning, the upward movement reported in these studies represents the more frequent use of sociocentric reasoning and a diminution of an egocentric perspective on moral and social questions. Since life in a democratic society depends upon taking a social perspective where one must restrain personal inclinations in order to insure social order and well-being, growth in understanding of the societal point of view is an important transition.

Cooperative Learning

Cooperative learning is a recent approach to instruction that attempts to redress what is seen as an over-emphasis on competitive and individualistic structures in schools. Although the term cooperative learning covers a wide range of activities, its basic tenet is use of learning experiences in which small groups of students share responsibility for the learning of other members of the group. Typically these small groups of four to five students are comprised in such a way as to include a wide range of academic, social, and racial backgrounds. Students are generally rewarded for the success of the group as a whole. Thus, cooperation among members of the group to achieve individual and group goals (mastery of subject matter content) replaces the individualistic, competitive learning structure of the traditional classroom.

The research on cooperative learning is extensive and has been summarized in reviews and meta-analyses by Madden and Slavin (1983), Slavin (1980, 1991), Sharani (1980), and Johnson, Maruyama, Johnson, Nelson, and Skon (1981). Although the research on cooperative learning has been conducted among students at all grade levels, a majority of those studies have involved young adolescents. The extensive field experimental research on cooperative techniques in the classroom can be summarized as follows: when compared with individualistic and competitive methods, cooperative classrooms generally yield greater academic learning; better intergroup relations among different ethnic groups; enhanced self-esteem; improved relationships between mainstreamed, academically disabled students, and normal-progress students; higher general concern and mutual trust among students; and, increased propensity for prosocial behavior. Mutual concern among students is measured in many of the cooperative learning studies. Mutual concern is assessed by obtaining from student's ratings of one's peers and perceptions of being liked by peers. The consistent finding has been that cooperative learning promotes interpersonal attraction, trust, and sense of being accepted by teachers and peers.

Research also indicates that cooperative learning can be a significant tool for promoting prosocial or altruistic behavior. Studies by Johnson, Johnson, Johnson, and Anderson (1976), Hertz-Lazarowitz, Sharan, and Steinberg (1980), and Ryan and Wheeler (1977) all found that students who work cooperatively on academic tasks become more helpful in their relations with classmates and develop more concerned attitudes toward the well-being of others, when compared to students in competitive and individualistic learning contexts. Thus the literature on cooperative learning suggests that how a subject is taught and the type of social environment that the student experiences while learning can have important consequences for achievement, as well as, for personal and social development. It is this general finding that we will now examine in the somewhat broader context of school and classroom environment.

Classroom and School Climate

It has long been recognized that more is taught and learned in school than what exists in teacher lesson plans, textbooks, and tests. The phrase "hidden curriculum" has frequently been used to summarize the variety of classroom and school factors that influence the development of children but are not a part of the regular curricula. More recently the term "ethos" has gained acceptance in referring to these noncurricular dimensions of schooling (Grant, 1988).

The nature of the classroom and school environment is crucial to the nature of the impact of important transitions on early adolescence. As previously noted, adolescent needs for attachment, independence, autonomy, and achievement coupled with developing cognitive abilities place special demands on the school environment if it is to positively influence development. One area with an extensive research base is in democratic participation of students in the life of the school. When students lack control over such functions as rule making and classroom content they may respond with apathy, disruptive behavior, or alienation, (Boesel, 1978, Dillon and Grout, 1976; Epstein, 1976; Mergendoller, 1980; Tjosvold, 1980). In addition to resulting in negative forms of behavior, school environment at the middle school level may also negatively impact on achievement related beliefs and motivation such as attitude toward school, self-esteem, and perceived competence. Among the factors identified that change when students leave elementary school and that have a negative influence on achievement related beliefs and motivations are: increased ability grouping, whole class instruction, rigid classroom control, higher standards of grading, and a decreased emphasis on developmentally appropriate cognitive challenges (Eccles & Midgley, 1989; Eccles, Midgley, & Adler, 1984).

Not only do undemocratic environments have a negative influence on academic achievement and motivation they also may hinder the development of positive democratic attitudes and values. Metzger and Barr (1978) found that students in an undemocratic setting, demonstrated significantly lower scores on a measure of political interest, integration, trust and political efficacy than those in democratic settings. Ehman and Gillespie (1975) found that in schools characterized by a high degree of teacher and administration control, students have more negative attitudes toward politics and feel less politically integrated, trusting and confident than students in more democratic settings. Ehman, in a thorough review of the literature on the role of the American school in the political socialization process, found that the traditional social studies curriculum was not effective at influencing political attitudes toward society and politics or toward political participation (Ehman, 1980a). Classroom climate, student participation in school activities, and the school organizational climate were the main factors related to political attitudes. In a three year longitudinal study with high school sophomores Ehman (1980b) found that students who considered and discussed controversial issues in the classroom were more likely to possess an increased sense of social integration and greater political interest then students in traditional social studies classes. Ehman, however, reports that students in classrooms where controversial issues are discussed also tend to develop a lower sense of political efficacy; he attributes this to increased political realism.

Some evidence suggests that participation in democratic classrooms can have a facilitative effect on moral development. Studies by McCann and Bell (1975), and Crockenberg and Nicoloyev (1979) suggest that democratic experiences will stimulate the development of moral reasoning in young adolescents. The clearest and most compelling theoretical and empirical perspective on democratic environments in schools is the just community approach of Lawrence Kohlberg and his associates (Power, Higgins, & Kohlberg, 1989). They found that in the process of building democratic communities in schools, that students would both propose and comply with democratically agreed upon norms. In the process of reaching agreement on these norms students had to step outside themselves, consider the interests of others, and deliberate upon such basic moral questions such as "What is fair?" In a majority of the just communities studied a natural moral development occurred. Students considered questions of right and wrong that occurred within the school and attempted to reach consensus on those questions. It was found that in most school settings this resulted in statistically significant moral development in stage of moral reasoning. In addition, the incidence of behavior that ran counter to the agreed upon norms also showed significant decline as the community evolved.

In sum, the research indicates that classroom climate can play a significant role in the important transitions and development that occur during early adolescence.

Student needs such as affiliation, autonomy and achievement can be channeled in a positive developmental manner if the school environment is sensitive to those needs. If the school environment does not recognize the need for a developmental match the result may be alienation, declining achievement, apathy, and dysfunctional and disruptive behavior. If schools contain a democratic spirit, we find students expressed greater interest in political life and more positive political attitudes. In addition, through democratic group processes, a sense of community value and moral development may be fostered.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Early adolescence can be a confusing time for teens, parents, and teachers. It is clearly a period that requires that adults take cognizance of the developmental changes that are occurring in their daily interactions with adolescents. An understanding of the developmental needs of early adolescence can guide the design and practice of educational experiences in schools. Below are presented recommendations for civics instruction for early adolescents that follow directly from the developmental literature reviewed above.

First, with regard to the developing capacity for formal operational thinking, teachers and curriculum developers need to be sensitive to the implicit intellectual demands of the curriculum. That is, it should reflect that students at this time are in a transition period between concrete and abstract thought. The method of presentation as well as the intellectual tasks required of students should provide for both levels of cognitive functioning but be so designed as to encourage growth toward formal operations. Vygotsky (1978) has provided a useful way of understanding this developmental process in his concept of "Zone of Proximal Development." The zone of proximal development is defined as "the distance between actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development, as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (p.86). According to Vygotsky, in order to understand the development of children's cognitive functioning, one must study children's social interaction with more experienced members of their culture. In order for a child to profit from the social and cognitive environment of the classroom, activity must be geared appropriately to the child's level of potential development, thereby advancing the child's level of actual development: "instruction is good only when it proceeds ahead of development. It then awakens and rouses to life those functions which are in the stage of maturing, which lie in the zone of proximal development. It is in this way that instruction plays an extremely important role in development" (Vygotsky, 1956, p.278).

The research program of Lawrence Kohlberg and his associates on the cognitive developmental approach to moral education, with its emphasis on exposing students to reasoning slightly more advanced than their own, demonstrates the potential effectiveness of attending to the concept of a zone of proximal development in the facilitation of moral development. The dangers of ignoring developmental differences in youth is illustrated in the results from a study by Rest, Turiel and Kohlberg (1969). This study found that when students were presented with examples of moral reasoning at a variety of stages, they were not able to understand reasoning more than one stage above their current stage. Equally as important, this study found that students expressed a preference for, as a better resolution to a moral dilemma, reasoning that was more advanced than their own. They tended to reject, as immature, reasoning that was below their current stage. This research suggests, therefore, that it is vital for educators to attend to developmental levels if they wish to communicate effectively with adolescents regarding moral topics and issues. Similarly, in order to insure effective civics instruction, attention should be paid to developmental differences among adolescents when presenting legal, political, social and economic topics and issues.

Another important reason for adapting content to the developmental level of students is that when a developmental mismatch exists between what the student thinks is relevant and what is presented, the result is likely to be a lack of interest and motivation on the part of students (Elkind, 1974; Ginsberg and Opper, 1988; Metz, 1978). Young adolescents should be provided with learning experiences that challenge, but do not overwhelm. They should be allowed to play with information and use information to seek out new and creative solutions to problems that have interest and relevance. With terms such as morality, justice, rights, citizen and the like taking on new meaning, students should be encouraged to redefine society, morality, the political process, and the legal system in a manner consistent with their new found modes of thought. It is unlikely that the early adolescents' natural efforts to develop more sophisticated perspectives on moral and political issues will be successful if unsupported or ignored by adults.

In addition to the nature of the explicit curriculum in schools, those concerned about adolescent development should also pay attention to the nature of the classroom and school environment. Important contributions can be made to social and moral development as well as to the multiple transitions of early adolescence by the appropriate instructional environment. Social development in early adolescence is inevitable. The question posed to those charged with the education of youth is whether schools and classrooms will be constituted in such a way as to positively enhance that development. The research discussed above suggests that in a time when children are moving away from rigid and authoritarian ways of thinking about the social world, school environments that reflect these values are a dysfunction to development; that is, youth may develop feelings of powerlessness and alienation. On the other hand, classrooms and schools that are democratic and open, serving as an arena of comfort, may positively influence youth's moral development, political attitudes, feelings of social acceptance, and respect for social norms.

Early adolescence is a singular opportunity for schools to positively influence the development of future citizens. It is a time of increased interest and capacity for learning about the social and political world. It is a time when an emergent morality and political ideology take shape. If schools and the civics curriculum do not "seize the moment" the probable results are a generation of uninformed, disinterested, even alienated citizens who lack the values and commitment essential to a vibrant democracy. If, on the other hand, the civics curriculum for early adolescence is developmentally appropriate and engaging, it can serve as an impetus to a lifelong growth commitment to responsible citizenship. This is the goal of the Our Democracy civics curriculum.

5

The Acquisition of Civic Understanding in Early Adolescence

During the Watergate hearings one of the favorite questions of the interrogators was "What did he know and when did he know it?" A similar question is relevant to those attempting to develop curricula in an area such as civic education. Specifically the following question will guide the organization of this chapter with respect to civic understanding of early adolescents "What do they know, when did they know it, and how did they learn it?" Curricula planning should be based on an understanding of the prior knowledge of the students as well as the method by which learning in that particular domain takes place. In an area such as civic understanding problems are encountered that are not encountered in other areas of education. Namely, the role of nonformal agents and experiences in learning. For example, in areas such as math and spelling what goes on in schools is by and large the whole picture of how students come to acquire knowledge and competency. However, in civic learning family, media, peers and the like also contribute and dominate much of the learning. In the domain of political learning one cannot assume, as one can with chemistry, that one knows little when he/she comes to school and, if instruction does not take place, one will leave school knowing little. In political education students come into the learning environment with a conception of the political environment and even as political instruction may be taking place they continue to learn about political life outside of the formal curriculum. Thus, an understanding of the sources of prerequisite knowledge, as well as, how that knowledge interacts with the learning of current knowledge is critical for planning instruction.

This chapter will review how the civic orientation of young adolescents has been formed and discuss the implications of this development for civic instruction. In the process of reviewing this literature the reader should keep in mind that, in response to conundrums inherent in the research, a number of simplifications have been made in presenting the literature. First, this chapter will primarily focus on the acquisition of knowledge from a socialization perspective even though it is questionable if socialization can be separated from developmental considerations. As will be seen, it is not possible to separate entirely the acquisition of knowledge from how that new knowledge interacts with and reorganizes previous knowledge and the general developmental characteristics of youth. The previous chapter discussed in a more general manner other developmental considerations relevant to civics instruction.

Second, it is apparent from the research literature that scholars have had a difficult time empirically separating study of the political, economic, legal and social domains. For example, studies of social development typically involve data collection on children's understanding of political and economic phenomena. Political socialization literature typically include analysis of changing conceptions of law. The study of economic thought and knowledge typically involve political information, and so on. So, while it is somewhat contradictory to consider each of the areas identified above independently, to the extent possible this will be undertaken for the sake of delineation and comparison.

Finally, the balance of the chapter will necessarily reflect the fact that the political socialization literature is the parent of the literature in the other three domains. It is the most well-developed research program and its influence clearly permeates the other areas of study. As a result, the section on political socialization will have the greatest length and detail. The reason for this is not that political knowledge is seen as more important than say economic knowledge, but rather that we simply know more about the development of political understanding. The reader will notice the footprints of the political socialization literature throughout the remaining sections of the chapter.

The Acquisition of Political Knowledge and Understanding

In April, 1990 the Department of Education released *Civics Report Card* (Anderson, Jenkins, Leming, MacDonald, Mullis, Turner & Wooster, 1990). This report, a product of the National Assessment of Educational Progress and prepared under the auspices of the Educational Testing Service, represents the most recent and most comprehensive assessment of American youth's knowledge and understanding of our nations' government and political system. The report consists of an analysis of a deeply stratified national sample of 10,735 students at grades 4, 8 and 12 from 1,030 schools. The items in the assessment, primarily in an objective format, assessed student knowledge and understanding in four content areas: democratic principles and the purpose of government; structures and functions of political institutions; political processes; and, rights, responsibilities, and the law. The results from the assessments were analyzed using item response theory technology, allowing the performance data to be reported on a single scale, ranging from 0 to 100. This data was then summarized on a common 500 point scale. Based on the range of student performance across the scale four levels of proficiency were defined. The characteristics of each of the levels of proficiency are summarized below.

Level 200: Recognizes the Existence of Civic Life

Students at this level possess a beginning political awareness of the distinctions between the public and private domains and are familiar with some of the functions of government that pervade their immediate experience. They possess an elementary political vocabulary.

Level 250: Understands the Nature of Political Institutions and the Relationship Between Citizen and Government

Students at this level are developing a knowledge of the nature of democratic institutions and processes; they are aware of understanding of federalism. These students understand the purpose of individual rights and can identify many of these rights. They are developing a broader and more diverse political vocabulary.

Level 300: Understands Specific Government Structures and Functions

At this level students have differentiated understanding of the structures, functions, and powers of American government as prescribed in the Constitution. For example they have an increased understanding of federalism, are aware of the separation and allocation of powers, and grasp the concept of judicial review. These students are also aware of certain historical events and legal precedent that have shaped our democratic heritage.

Level 350: Understands a Variety of Political Institutions and Processes

Students at this level are distinguished by their broader and more detailed knowledge of the various institutions of government. For example, they can describe the responsibilities of the president, the congressional power to override presidential They have a more elaborated understanding of political processes and a complex and sophisticated political vocabulary.

Considerable differences were found between 4th, 8th, and 12th graders in breadth and depth of knowledge and understanding about civic life. At grade eight, 94.4% of the students had achieved Level 200. That is, by and large 8th grade students possess a rudimentary awareness of the existence of civic life. They know about voting and elections, that government performs services for the people and the reason and purpose for laws. They also know about certain basic rights, especially of the accused.

Level 250 was achieved by 61% of eighth grade students. These students had progressed beyond a basic civic awareness and could demonstrate a basic understanding of government responsibilities and the interrelationships between citizens and government. They seem to have a more complete understanding of the purpose of individual rights, are aware of alternative means besides voting to influence government, and have a more complex political vocabulary. By grade 12, 89% of students have achieved this level.

One of the most startling findings in *The Civics Report Card* was with respect to 8th graders performance at Level 300: only 12.7% achieved this level. This means that 83.7% of eighth grade students could not show a knowledge of the structures, functions and powers of American Government as described in the Constitution. They also lacked an understanding of the principles that underlie such features of American government as the separation of powers and checks and balances. Students lacked a detailed civic vocabulary and appeared unable to comprehend varied and complex citizenship issues. At the 12th grade level fewer than half the students reached this level. Given the likelihood that knowledge of the sort required for level 300 is required for informed participation in political life, our public schools must be given a failing mark with respect to civic education.

All eighth and twelfth grade students were given an open-ended question where they were asked to name the president and given 15 minutes to describe his responsibilities. Students had little trouble naming the current President (Reagan), but only 41% of 8th graders and 59% of 12th graders could provide a response judged to be adequate or better, that correctly describes two or more presidential responsibilities.

The generally low levels of performance on the civics assessment cannot be attributed to a lack of instruction. Eighty-eight percent of eighth grade students report having studied government in 5th, 6th, 7th or 8th grade. Ninety-three percent of twelfth graders report having studied government in high school. Surprisingly, at the high school level the amount of instruction received appeared to be unrelated to student's proficiency: however, across the grades, there appears to be a positive relationship between students' average civics proficiency and the amount and frequency of instruction they received in social studies, civics, or American government.

Political Development During Early Adolescence

Although *The Civics Report Card* provides valuable insights into the status of students' civic knowledge and understanding, it provides only limited insight into the sources of, and the processes by which, such proficiency is acquired. Insight into these areas are important if one is to fully understand the young adolescent as a political being and if one is to develop curricula that is meaningful and developmentally appropriate. To find answers to how and from which sources political knowledge and understanding is acquired, as well as, commitment to democratic ideals, we must now turn to the research on political socialization.

Two psychological approaches to the understanding of political socialization have been shown to be especially useful in the study of civic development during early adolescence. The social learning perspective holds that through an osmosis process, the family, schools, peers, media and other agents, political knowledge and values are inculcated in children. The result is that basic knowledge, understanding and dispositions are absorbed, acquired, incorporated or internalized and function as determinants of later political behavior. This approach assumes that political learning is a function of reinforcement contingencies, observational, vicarious, and modeling learning processes. It was this perspective that dominated the early seminal work in political socialization in the late fifties and sixties (Hyman, 1959, Greenstein, 1970; Hess & Torney, 1967; and, Easton & Dennis, 1969) and that gave rise to the primacy principle in political socialization. This principle holds that general political orientations (e.g., party identification, efficacy, and trust) are learned during childhood, that childhood learning shapes later modifications, and that subsequent alterations are, in fact, minor (Peterson & Somit, 1982). Since the 1960's, research in political socialization, according to one author, has been a bear market (Cook, 1985).

The most recent and relevant research, while not discrediting the primacy principle entirely, has suggested that significant changes can occur in political orientation after childhood (Jennings & Neimi, 1981). Jennings and Neimi's panel study of adults and their children, while offering considerable evidence for a lifelong persistence model that stresses the critical influence of early socialization experiences, also found evidence to support a lifelong openness model suggesting the susceptibility most individuals have to changes in political orientations throughout their lifespans. Thus, at the present time the political socialization research rests on the apparent paradox that both stability and change are characteristics of political development in early adolescence and throughout the life cycle.

Political development occurs in three dimensions: knowledge and understanding (cognitive), attitudinal, and behavioral. Individual political development in these dimensions is usually interrelated. That is, change in one area may have a ripple effect in other areas; for example, new knowledge, if meaningful and internalized, may well result in changes in attitudes and behavior. Conversely, shifts in political orientation (politically relevant beliefs, attitudes, and values) will likewise be accompanied by shifts in knowledge and understanding, and even political behavior.

It is in early adolescence that the capacity for formal operational thought first appears. Torney-Purta (1990) in a review of research concludes, "Nearly all of the research in this field conducted by psychologists (and some of the work of sociologists and political scientists) has used the concept of stage in describing cognitive outcomes of socialization." (p.20) These researchers have recognized the unique capacities that unfold at this time, and the implications of these new cognitive capacities for political development. Knowledge regarding this critical transitional period in the capacity for inferential reasoning is based on the seminal research of Piaget (Inhelder & Piaget, 1958). According to Piaget, new information is either incorporated into existing schema without altering them (assimilation) or existing schemas are changed to accommodate the information (accommodation). A schema is a cognitive structure that organizes previously acquired information and experiences. It influences memory and problem solving and relates to attitudes. A schema is not a faithful reflection or copy of reality existing in the world, but rather a picture or structure of that reality constructed by the individual. It is through the constant structuring and restructuring of the pictures of the world (schemas) that cognitive development occurs.

The research of Adelson (1972) and Adelson & O'Neill (1966) best provides insight into the development of political understanding during early adolescence. They found the preadolescent to be typically egocentric in his/her views of political life. Government, community, and society are abstract ideals - they connote invisible networks of obligation and purpose that link people together in social life. This complex social understanding is beyond the reach of preadolescents and as a result they fall back upon personalism; that is, the child treats institutions and social processes based upon a model of persons and personal relationships. Political decisions are seen as having only personal consequences. The result is failure to have a mature conception of community.

It is at age 12 - 13 that a profound shift in the nature of political thought occurs. This shift in thought occurs as a result of cognitive developmental capacities not previously available to the adolescent, namely formal operational thought. These changes manifest in the political thinking of adolescents in three ways. First, is a change of cognitive mode. The young adolescent has the capacity for abstractness. The understanding of political and social institutions no longer is limited to concrete referents; institutions and social processes no longer are personalized. The young adolescent can begin to transcend a personalized mode of discourse regarding the political arena; government no longer is exclusively conceptualized in terms of specific and tangible services. The young adolescent becomes capable of thinking about society and community. What's the best for society no longer is seen only from an egocentric perspective.

Yet another important shift occurring during early adolescence is the decline of authoritarianism. As the capacity for sociocentric thought develops, the capacity for more flexible views of right and wrong also develop. It is no longer necessary to look to powerful others for political and moral authority, when one can begin to visualize a democratic process involving legitimate diversity of opinion, and norms for the resolution of the resulting conflict.

Finally, the political thought of young adolescents is characterized by the development of the capacity for ideology. That is, as the absolutes of the child's view of the political world are loosened, the early adolescent begins to slowly construct a personally meaningful political philosophy. The young adolescent becomes more aware of the diversity of perspectives in society and attempts to reconcile these perspectives, as well as, to reconcile the many new demands he/she is experiencing with a new sense of self. The result is an emerging conception of the self in society and of the proper relationship between the two.

Thus, early adolescence is a time when the developing capacity for abstract and sociocentric thought results in a new understanding of the civic world. As this new and more mature understanding of the political environment emerges, the sources of information about that new world assume importance. What follows is a brief look at the primary sources of civic information and the evidence, if any, regarding the salience of those sources.

Agents in Political Socialization

Research on political development has traditionally been concerned with the relative influence of four major agents of socialization: family, peers, school and media. Of all the potential agents the family has received the most systematic attention, for it is in the family that the child encounters society for the first time and must develop his/her first orientation to authority. Early researchers felt quite confident that the bulk of an individual's important political dispositions were well set before early adolescence. As noted earlier, more recent research (Jennings & Neimi, 1981), while not abandoning the importance of early socialization influences, has also noted that there is the potential for change in adolescence and adulthood. Paradoxically, both stability and change appear to be characteristic of political socialization throughout the life cycle. This apparent paradox can be easily resolved through the cognitive developmental framework. Whereas certain basic orientations are undoubtedly firmly established in early childhood, developing cognitive abilities and new social experiences may lead to cognitive reorganization and new constructions of political reality. For these changes to take place requires both internal events (cognitive maturation) and external events (developmentally appropriate environments).

After parents, the school is presumed to be the most powerful influence in political socialization. But almost all researchers have concluded the influence of school on political thinking in adolescence is minimal. Ehman (1980), in a review of literature, related school-level and classroom level attributes to four political socialization outcomes: political knowledge, political attitudes and values toward society and politics, attitudes toward political participation, and participation in political or quasi-political affairs. Ehman found that the school curriculum was effective in transmitting knowledge, but not in influencing attitudes. The only factors found to be positively related to political attitudes was classroom and school climate, and participation in school governance and extra-curricular affairs. Two conclusions about this review and other reviews (e.g. Leming, 1985) are noteworthy. The traditional curriculum was found to have no discernible impact on political orientation. To the extent that schooling have an impact on adolescent democratic thinking and values, it does so through informal mechanisms such as democratic environments in the classroom and the school. Not surprisingly, only to the extent that schools are democratic institutions that allow students to participate meaningfully in deliberations about school policies, do they contribute to the development of positive democratic attitudes.

Peers are often cited as being a dominant influence on political socialization; yet, what little research exists finds that they contribute very little to the development of political views (Beck, 1977; Silberger, 1977). The evidence suggest that whereas peers may turn to each other for advice on a variety of issues, the seeking of political views or the engagement in political discourse is not a frequent or influential part of adolescent experience.

Given the pervasiveness of television in contemporary America it is no surprise that its influence on youth has been a major research area for social scientists. Consider the following: the average U.S. first grader watches television at least three hours per day; on any given day one quarter of fifth graders are still watching T.V. after 11:30 pm; American teenagers watch T.V. on the average of 23 hours per week; and, by the end of high school the American student has spent more time before the T.V. than in any other activity, except for sleeping (Farnen, 1985). Despite the overwhelming public concern regarding the influence of media on youth, most notable with regard to aggressiveness, there is no convincing evidence of a causal link between the viewing of content on television and the development of values in youth.

Still today, the most valid generalization about T.V.'s effects is that formulated almost 30 years ago in the pioneering work of Schramn, Lyle & Parker (1961). After a study of "new" television children and their parents, it was their conclusion that "For some children under some conditions, some television is harmful. For other children under the same conditions, or for the same children under other conditions, it may be beneficial. For most children, under most conditions, most television is neither particularly harmful nor particularly beneficial."

The hypodermic model of mass medias' influence on youth is not supported by the evidence. That is, media does not inject a dose of values in a uniform manner among youth. The research suggests that it is not so much what media does to youth as what youth do with the media that defines its influence. Clearly such things as youths' anticipatory schemas,along with previous experiences will influence their reaction to media content. For example, one teen viewing a news report of racial violence may react with outrage while another may see it as an appropriate response, depending upon their previous experiences related to the content. Undoubtedly, just as the school curriculum may teach political knowledge, so may youth acquire information from media. What exactly youth will learn from media and other forms of popular culture, will be both personally and socially constructed. In Piagetian terms, the information may be either assimilated into existing schemata without alternating them, or, through accommodation, may change schemas and, thereby determine the meaning that media communicates. Neither option allows the viewer to passively receive meaning from television.

One interesting finding from media research is that a positive relationship exists between discussion and learning from media. Media that best communicates information serves as a stimulant to political discussion, and that discussion in turn serves as a stimulant to information seeking and political learning (Chaffee, 1972; and Chaffee & McLeod, J., 1973). This research suggests that to the extent the media is experienced in a passive manner, its potential to transmit information is limited.

The Development of Knowledge and Understanding with Regard to the Legal, Economic, and Social Bases of Civic Life

Since law is the principle purpose of government and the enactment and enforcement of law the goal toward which politics moves, one would not expect to find great differences between learning and development about politics and about law. In fact, no substantial differences are found. This is perhaps best illustrated in the work of Joseph Adelson. Adelson, Green & O'Neil (1969), using a similar interview strategy to their earlier political socialization studies (Adelson & O'Neil, 1966), asked children and adolescents a series of questions about the purpose of laws in a society. Their findings regarding legal development parallel almost exactly their findings in the political domain. Age changes were noted in two directions. Young adolescents were unable to respond abstractly about the purpose of law, their discourse was concrete, almost literal. Secondly, young adolescents emphasized the constraining and coercive side of law. These tendencies resulted in a view of the primary purpose of law as to curb and punish specific acts of wickedness.

Older adolescents were more likely to use abstract language and to see the socially beneficial purposes of law in a society. As the sense of community develops in adolescence, we also see a corresponding shift in the understanding of law. Law is now seen as a means to promote the general welfare, the constraining side of law is only one function it serves. The older adolescent also is able to understand the idea of the mutability of law, an idea totally alien to early adolescents. The older adolescent understands that there can be good laws and bad laws and that citizens must sometimes change laws that do not serve society's interests.

Tapp and Kohlberg (1971), using a sample of primary and middle school students found a developmental sequence between the reasoning of children and young adolescents in response to the question "What would happen if there were no rules?" Among the primary grade students, the concern for rules and law was organized around physical consequences. These students saw laws and rules as a way to prevent violence and crime, to prevent bad people from doing bad acts. By middle school, the violence response had been supplemented by a chaos response. That is, laws or rules serve to restrain personal desire and to maintain social order. Approximately half of the students use the chaos response, and half the violence response at grades 6 and 8.

Hogan and Mills (1976) provide an insightful analysis of the motivational dynamics in legal socialization. That is, their perspective is with regard to how an internalized compliance with legal and social rules develops. They identify three levels or forms in this process each of which is precipitated by changes in the child's life. The first of these levels is characterized by attunement to rules. The motivational dynamic at this first level is the result of the accommodation the child makes to adult authority. If the child sees the parents as benevolent and trustworthy he will be disposed to accept their rules, regardless of their content. The child thus becomes attuned to rules; this subsequently entails recognizing that settings are also governed by rules and adjusting to those rules.

Hogan and Mills' second level describes sensitivity to social expectations. At this level youth develop an internalized orientation to adult norms and values - as consequence of peer group experiences. This is typically the situation with adolescents. Their sensitivity to social expectations and concern for the welfare of those people with whom they interact produce motivation for compliance to internalized norms. The final level of legal socialization, the autonomous observance of legal and social rules, is referred to as ideological maturity. At this level, one upholds the moral and legal traditions for one's country out of respect for that tradition.

In a recent report on the status of economic literacy among adolescents in the United States, the conclusion based on a sample of 8,200 students was that the state of economic literacy is deplorable (Walstad & Soper, 1988). It was found that typically high school students could answer only 40% of question on the *Test of Economic Literacy*. Specifically:

- only 25% knew the definition of profit
- only 39% knew what the GNP was
- only 25% knew the definition of inflation
- only 45% knew what a government budget deficit was
- correctly answered only 34% of questions about the national economy
- correctly answered only 36% of the questions on the world economy

Given the sparse and inadequate attention given to economics instruction in our nation's schools, and the fact that the general public and most teachers find themselves mystified by the study of economics, it is not terribly surprising to find our youth have low levels of economic literacy.

Youth do not have limited involvement in the economy. Known to advertisers as the "tween" market, they are a prime target for an ever expanding plethora of products from pimple creams to designer label clothing. Tweens have become an increasingly influential, and affluent consumer group. The adolescent age group, to which tweens belong, spent $99 billion and influenced family purchases of another $148 billion in 1988 (Sellers, 1989).

Such enormous spending is possible because of the large discretionary incomes resulting from growing allowances and earnings and the absence of expenses adults encounter such as rent, utilities and insurance. A recent survey of 25,000 8th graders found 80% had worked for pay at lawn care, newspaper delivery, baby sitting, manual labor, sales clerk and odd jobs (Owings, 1990). Greenberger and Steinberg (1986) report that the predominate motive for taking these jobs is the desire to earn spending money. That these experiences are having an impact on young adolescents can hardly be doubted. But what sense students are making of these experiences and how they affect student understanding of the economy is unknown.

While the research on the development of economic understanding is not as extensive as in other domains the findings share the same general developmental characteristics (Burris, 1976; Stacey, 1982). Research indicates that preadolescent children's understanding of economic life is highly personalized and directly linked to immediate experiences. Around the age of twelve children become able to construe economic relationships in terms of societal considerations with a more differentiated and integrated social perspective. Understanding becomes less linked to direct personal experience and adolescents become slowly capable of understanding the complex web of factors that determine such economic factors as prices, interest, shortages, poverty, and similar concepts.

As pointed out before, the development of understanding and reasoning in the social domain is inexorably intertwined with political, economic and legal understanding and reasoning. For example, Furth, Baur & Smith (1976) in a Piagetian study of children's conception of social institutions identify eight areas of social thinking: how a role is acquired, role occupant, role-person distinction, specific role functions, community, role of local and national government, money, and business and money. Children's understanding of social roles and social institutions appears to parallel the general stage development identified above. That is, children move from a stage of undifferentiated, personalized perspective based on direct experiences to a more global systemic-analytic perspective where personal and social perspectives are integrated and reconciled. Given the overlap that is found in adolescent reasoning between the political, legal, and economic domains, it is not surprising to find similar patterns in reasoning about social roles and societal systems.

Conclusion

The difficulties encountered in attempting to analyze the understanding of and development of reasoning regarding civic life as separate domains is a strong argument for the approach toward civic education undertaken by the *Our Democracy* project. This chapter strongly suggests that attempting to academically separate the study of the different domains of civic life imposes an artificial and unwarranted structure. In Piagetian terms, civic understanding among young adolescents is a structured whole; it is whole cloth, an Arabian carpet, not a quilt. There are no cognitive barriers to the integrated study of civic life. Research indicates that when adolescents reason about civic life in one domain they necessarily incorporate information from other domains.

It appears that the study in one domain may well have beneficial effects for the study of other domains. One conclusion that follows from the above literature is that much is known regarding how adolescents reasoning and understanding develops, but little is known about exactly how it is learned. We do know that students lack in-depth factual understanding of our political, legal, economic and social systems. The schemas they have constructed are incongruent with reality. We also know that young adolescents are having many experiences in each system and seem to view them as interrelated. Unfortunately, we are again frustrated for research has not yet shown us clearly what common experiences students are having or how to connect with that experience to add detail and correct false understandings in students schemata.

Two implications do follow form the general finding of adolescents newly developing capacity for abstract, socio-centric understanding of civic life. First, expository teaching becomes more possible and the teacher no longer need be tied to concrete examples of all concepts. Instruction can be meaningful to students in the absence of concrete referents which now serve the purpose of illustrative clarification when necessary. Secondly, because concrete props and referents can now be circumvented, and because of the greater number and more abstract and inclusive nature of higher order concepts and propositions within the young adolescents' cognitive structure, subject matter can be meaningfully assimilated in greater depth with greater ease. Learning is meaningful to all learners to the extent that "... appropriately relevant and typically more inclusive concepts or propositions are already available to serve a subsuming role or provide ideational anchorage (Ausubel, 1980, p.233)." One mistake frequently made is to go too fast, too soon in attempting to seize upon the new capacities of the young adolescent. The result being what a number of educators have referred to variously as teaching "inert ideas" or "phony concepts."

We know that at the present time civic instruction is inadequate in the United States. A central reason for this is that at a critical time in the cognitive development of adolescents our educational system has failed to respond to an educational window of opportunity. Giving increased attention to the learner and the learner's experiences to create a better "educational fit" with the curriculum could go a long way toward improving civic instruction in the United States in the 1990s. These issues are discussed further in the next chapter.

6

A Model for Integrating Knowledge

The dreams and dilemmas of democratic citizens living within a global context at the dawn of a new century invite us to create new curricular metaphors and designs. The most powerful invitation comes from the need to be more complete in our construction of knowledge and more comprehensive in our thinking about problems and potential. We know from personal observations, from research, and from history that obtaining this completeness and comprehensiveness is dependent upon our abilities; (1) to integrate knowledge from traditional academic disciplines, (2) to process new information within a coherent conceptual structure, and (3) to focus on the realities of the lives of individuals, groups, and societies.

The ideas and strategies which follow focus on how knowledge can be integrated, conceptually structured, taught and applied to real dilemmas facing society. We will try to understand ourselves and the world around us by using current, complete, and comprehensive information, conceptual structures, and policy making strategies.

An Integrated Curriculum Model

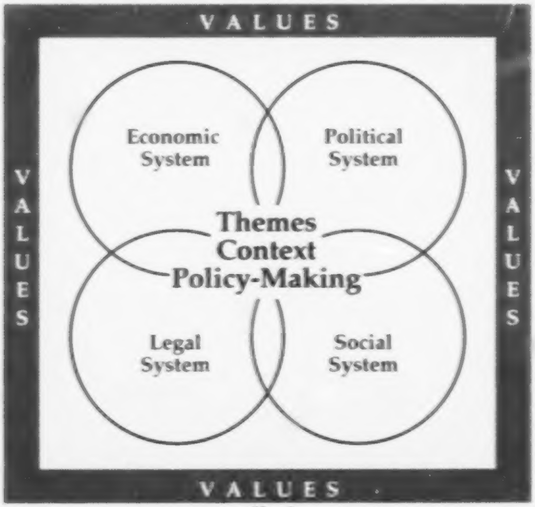
Life is integrated. Unless we construct school programs upon this truth, we put our students at risk. We also know that knowledge is culturally and historically determined. For example, the science of the 20th century is quite different from 16th century science, and, no doubt, will be different from 21st century science. There are no human views of reality except through cultural lenses. We must confront the fact that one cannot understand knowledge or reality outside of a culture that defines who we are and how we view the world. Thus, separating our science or our tools from our culture or separating our several bodies of organized knowledge from one another and from the issues and problems they help us investigate leads us to half-truths and disillusionment.

A curriculum that attempts to address authentic social/civic issues, then, must be based upon an integrated and coherent structure of meaning. And, since meaning is always rooted in culture, the quality of that curriculum will be determined by how completely and accurately our models of knowledge reflect the reality of culture. A model for the integration of knowledge will be useful to the degree that it can provide a framework for observing, describing, analyzing, evaluating, and making policies about society that will lead to a healthier social climate for all citizens. The case has already been made that such a framework must be pedagogically sound and intellectually manageable by adolescents.

The integrated framework upon which *Our Democracy: How America Works* is constructed consists of four reservoirs of knowledge labeled here as the political, legal, economic, and social systems. In addition, there are aspects of the model that address unifying themes and policy/making abilities. All are in a context of democratic values which influence every part of the model shown graphically in Diagram One.

The process of integrating the knowledge from the four systems and using it to address a series of issues within a human context suggests a familiarity with the four systems as well as the process of policy/making used by the student/citizen in solving civic issues. Clearly, a system of knowledge exists within a historical and geographically context. This means that knowledge is bound within concepts of time and space and as knowledge is applied to civic/social issues these concepts form the operational limits of any inquiry. Thus, political, legal, economic, and social systems always function within time and space constructs, and are defined by a value system. First, the systems will be examined, one at a time, focusing on their mutual interrelationships within the model. Following are generalizations relating to each system. In addition, the same content is presented as concepts in Appendix A. How this content can be combined in the study of a societal issue and the making of public policy will be demonstrated. The following content generalizations and those concepts listed in Appendix A are not meant to be a comprehensive listing of content from each discipline, but, rather, fundamental content about each system needed by citizens to effectively fulfill their roles.

Diagram One



Economic Content

Economic systems address the question of survival; not so much as an individual, but as a member of a group or society. In many ways, it is remarkable that so many of us continue to exist. This fact is testimony to the workings of the system. On the other hand, the facts of want and misery give evidence that our solutions to economic problems are, at best, partial. Every economic system must deal with scarcity caused by the relationships between limited resources and unlimited human wants and values. Because of these relationships society and people must economize; that is, make choices about how to allocate resources to meet wants and values. Thus, people working together create economic systems to decide questions of production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services. These decisions are also affected by the relationship of one economic system in a particular society with other economic systems in other societies.

The economic system is created to maximize the material satisfaction of as many people as possible within society. This system which is made up of inputs, conversion functions, and outputs can be understood and used when dealing with personal and civic/social issues. System inputs would include resources (human, capitol, and natural), cultural preferences, income levels and distributions, demand levels of consumers, and the general satisfaction and support of the system from the people. System conversions address questions of production, control, distribution, and psychological and social roles that people play. System outputs are those goods and services that are consumed, levels of spending and saving, decisions about public goods and services, how the public will pay for these items, and how to control prices, inflation, employment, and income levels.

Economic Content Generalizations

1. The individual plays four roles in economic life: as a worker, as a consumer, as a saver/investor and as a citizen.

2. The conflict between unlimited needs and wants and limited resources is man's basic economic problem: scarcity. Scarcity is the central problem from which all other economic problems flow.

3. The problem of relative scarcity results in a need to make choices and to economize. Every individual and society must decide how scarce resources can best be used.

4. All choices involve alternatives and carry costs and benefits. Decisions about the use of productive resources are rarely either/or propositions, rather they usually entail trade-offs among desirable goals. In decision making situations, human beings try to maximize benefits while minimizing costs.

5. Choices are made purposefully, based on a rational consideration of the alternatives and influenced by the relative pieces of competing choices. Individuals and societies attempt to make their "best" choices; they do not aim to make bad decisions. Because the criteria according to which "best" choices are determined vary from person to person and from society to society, it is impossible to explain economic decisions without an understanding of the values underlying them.

6. The consequences of all choices lie in the future. The past cannot be changed, nor the future predicted. The future orientation of choices imbues them with risk and uncertainty. Although choices are made based on an assessment of the right action for the future, both in terms of immediate and long-term effects, these assessments are often inaccurate.

7. People need goods and services (minimally food, clothing and shelter) to survive. Accordingly, every society must devise an economic system to determine how much goods and services will be produced, how they will be produced, and to whom and in what ways they will be distributed. How these matters are addressed varies from society to society.

8. The ability of any economic system to meet the needs and wants of society depends on the availability of productive resources.

9. In addition to natural, human and capital resources, time, which cannot be regained or stored, and space, which influences com-munication and transportation, are important factors affecting the productivity of resources.

10. The economic system of a society reflects the values and objectives of that society.

11. Very different uses (and abuses) of resources occur under private and public ownership, primarily as a result of different incentive systems.

12. Command economies have not been as subject to fluctuations in the business cycle as free-market economies, but market economies have been more successful in raising standards of living.

13. People respond to economic incentives in predictable ways, attempting to promote self-interest by maximizing output and satisfactions. Consumers seek to maximize their satisfaction, workers their wages, producers their profits and investors their return.

14. Specialization has developed in all societies. Occupational and regional specialization increases the productivity of existing resources, making it possible to produce more of the goods and services people want. Specialization also causes people to become more dependent on one another and thereby increases trade.

15. Exchange permits specialization in production and results in more efficient use of resources. Various societies have developed standard media for exchange to facilitate trade. Currency is the chief medium in most contemporary societies.

16. Markets permit voluntary exchanges between people. The market system is the basic institutional arrangement through which the production and distribution of goods and services is determined in a free economy.

17. Self-interest makes the market system work. By raising or lowering the rewards provided for using resources in a particular way, the market directs resources toward the most productive ends. Prices are thus the major factor in the allocation of resources and the production of goods and services.

18. In a market economy, the tendency is for supply and demand to move toward an equilibrium price at which the quantity producers are willing to produce is identical with the quantity consumers are willing to buy.

19. Competition in markets reduces costs and rewards efficiency by encouraging sellers to provide the highest quality goods and services at the lowest possible prices. In a market system, competition is the primary regulator and the consumer is sovereign. In most market economies, however, the individual consumer and the public good are also protected by government regulations that set the rules under which competition takes place.

20. Individual freedom of choice is central to the way a market economy defines its goals and allocates its limited resources.

21. Consumer sovereignty has a major impact on the economic system. Consumers' values and tastes change, thereby strongly influencing what will be produced and consumed.

22. Individual alternatives are influenced by the choices of others. Modern society is highly interdependent. Accordingly, as the choices people make change the system of relationships between them also changes. As fewer American-made cars are purchased, for example, the employment options available to auto workers change.

23. The U.S. economy is a decentralized system. No one runs it and yet everyone runs it. Participation is voluntary. People are free to take their own actions, or to refrain from acting, but must accept the consequences of their decisions.

24. Increased production is dependent upon investment. When individuals and businesses save part of their incomes and make these savings available for investment in new capital resources or in enhanced human resources (education and training), the economy's capacity to produce in future years in increased.

25. The cycle of poverty in underdeveloped nations is characterized by subsistence economies which lack investment funds and education.

Political Content

Political systems deal with questions of: "Who rules?" "Why?" "Who gets what resources?" "How are advantages and disadvantages allocated?" and, "What social values will be implemented?" The political system addresses the issue of power and the processes used to obtain it. Power is the ability to make those decisions which allocate the values of society. Power binds a group to particular decisions. Influence, on the other hand, is the ability to help determine the direction of decisions made by those with power. Power must also be legitimate. That is, the people who rule are given that right by the citizens of society and the rules or laws that those in power make must be fair and necessary or, at least, perceived to be that way. Rules and rulers change when people no longer accept them.

A political system needs support to sustain itself. It must also renew itself in an orderly fashion. There is, then, a maintenance and adjustment function of the political system. Like the economic system, the political system has inputs, a conversion process, and outputs. Within society a political and economic culture is constructed that reinforces the dominate values of the peoples... particularly the people with influence and power. For example, if the political system makes, applies, and adjudicates rules it does so more or less with clear values that relate to the distribution of wealth, production of goods and services. The condition of the economic system, in turn, can produce some degree of stress for the political system. Stress within the political system can lead to instability within the economic system, and stress within the economic system can lead to instability within the political system.

Political Content Generalizations

1. Political systems exist to make authoritative decisions binding on all members of the political community. Every known society has empowered some individual or group to make decisions and establish social regulations for the group that carry coercive sanctions.

2. Governments are established to do for the people what they cannot do for themselves or, in any event, cannot do as well for themselves. The ultimate responsibilities of government fall into five general areas: external security, internal order, justice, services essential to the general welfare, and under democracy, ensuring freedom. In organizing government, it is essential to endow rulers with power and to make provision for holding them responsible for its use.

3. Government is but one of the institutions serving society. It is essential to civilization, and yet it cannot do the whole job by itself. Many human needs can best be met by the home, the church, the press and private business.

4. The decisions, policies and laws that have been made for a given society reflect and are based on the values, beliefs and traditions of that society.

5. In order to perpetuate its dominant values and system of government, every state must socialize its members in such a way that it inculcates its prevailing ideology.

6. Conflict arises within a political system when individuals or groups have competing goals and/or interpret the meaning of laws differently.

7. Political decisions are the result of the need to resolve conflicts, many of which are of a continuing nature, e.g. majority rule vs. minority rights, freedom vs. order, loyalty vs. dissent, etc.

8. Political leaders emerge when individuals are able to articulate or personify the wishes and goals of groups; leaders lose their power and influence when groups perceive their goals as different from those of their leaders.

9. Authorities attempt to legitimize their power in order to maintain both control and a stable political system.

10. Individuals are more likely to influence public policy when working in groups than when working alone. Political parties and interest groups form so that citizens having common beliefs and interests may seek to select the key personnel and mold the key policies of government.

11. Authorities tend to resist change which they feel will reduce their power and influence.

12. Individuals and groups resort to extreme methods to change public policy when they feel that authorities are unresponsive to their needs or that legitimate

channels for redress of grievances are ineffective. Authorities may be violently replaced if they remain unresponsive to public demands.

13. Government cannot be effective unless it has the flexibility to cope with new conditions. Adaptation, social invention and gradual change provide the best safeguards against political revolution. A stable government, in turn, facilitates the social and economic development of a nation.

14. A democratic society depends on citizens who are intellectually and morally competent to conduct the affairs of government. Although human beings are creatures of self-interest, individuals must balance self- interest and the public interest for democracy to function. Hence, citizenship in a democracy is the exercise of rights and privileges, duties and responsibilities as a reasoned and functional act of political behavior.

15. Democracy is based on certain fundamental assumptions. Among these are the integrity of man; the dignity of the individual; equality of opportunity; the rationality, morality and practicality of man; and man's ability to govern himself and to solve problems cooperatively.

16. Although its actions are based on majority rule, democracy seeks to protect the rights of individuals and minority groups.

17. There are eight requisites of successful democratic government: 1) an educated citizenry; 2) a common concern for human freedom; 3) communication and mobility; 4) a degree of economic security; 5) a spirit of compromise and mutual trust; 6) respect for the rights of minority groups and the loyal opposition; 7) moral and spiritual values; and 8) participation by the citizen in government at all levels.

Legal Content

Legal systems deal with questions of justice and build necessary connections between the political/economic systems and the individual. The legal system also provides a way or process for ethics to play a significant role in human affairs. Law is the oil in the social machinery.

The legal system serves as a protector of basic civil rights and as a common reference point for all citizens. The fundamental discrepancies between political and economic theories and social practices are mediated through the legal system. "What should be" and "what is"... the ideal and the real... suggest an arena for the practice of law where justice and truth can help drive the social system.

We believe that law is based upon reason. That is, we expect a certain "reasonable" behavior from people. When we base laws on reason, we tell all people that we (society) will not permit behavior that threatens injury to other persons or damage to their property. Reasonableness, of course, always depends upon the people involved, the act of behavior, and the circumstances that exist. The law sets guidelines for behavior based upon the ethics and values of society. It is also possible, of course, that laws themselves can be unreasonable and they may be changed by society.

The legal system includes the courts and procedures that help people behave reasonability in society. The legal system helps the community maintain order.

Legal Content Generalizations

1. In every society and institution, regulations and laws emerge to govern behavior. Some form of punishment usually results from breaking laws.

2. Law often works in combination with extra-legal social ordering forces. Societies require a system of social control in order to survive. Informal social control (ostracism, shunning, praise, approval, etc.) is the strongest factor in securing conformity to group standards, mores and values. But social control is also partially secured by laws. Formal, codified rules of behavior are imposed over those areas of social life which are too important to be left to the custody of informal controls.

3. Society uses law to formalize social, economic and political policy. Understanding the political, economic and social systems within which the democratic citizen operates is not possible without an understanding of the legal principles and practices which largely define and support them.

4. Law provides predictability and order in human affairs. Law provides rules and processes for resolving disputes fairly and rationally and supplies guidance and regulation of many activities that would be dangerous, inefficient or chaotic without such guidance. Law serves to define and discourage unacceptable, anti-social conduct; protect basic freedoms by defining, limiting and restraining powers of officials; and set standards for social interaction.

5. Law is primarily facilitative, and only secondarily restrictive.

6. Law reflects the needs and values of the culture that creates it, and can and does change as these evolve.

7. Law frequently is faced with trying to promote competing social values. Accepted, fundamental values often are presented in circumstances where one value can be fostered by law's operation only at the expense of the other.

8. Laws are often created to resolve situations where individual rights conflict with

societal needs or interests.

9. To the extent that law attempts to promote shared objectives and values by restricting or regulating thoughts and feelings as opposed to overt actions, it will almost certainly fail. Such laws are not only impossible to enforce, but any effort to this end is an assault on freedom of belief and thought which is fundamentally offensive to a democratic society.

10. Private citizens, as well as officials, have key roles to play in every aspect of the operation of law, from promulgation to enforcement and adjudication.

11. For laws to be effective, they must enjoy public support. When not supported by general public morality, the effectiveness of law enforcement is seriously impaired.

12. Law is a human system and is thus limited by the fallibility of those who make and administer it. If incompetent legislators or lazy judges are selected, or if apathetic citizens will not actively participate in the operation of the legal system, the quality of what the system produces will be limited.

13. Law's capacity to produce meritorious outcomes is limited by its ability to determine past, relevant facts. Imperfections in human powers of perception and recall and, less frequently, dishonesty impair accurate fact-finding and often render it impossible for the judicial process to determine past facts with certainty.

14. Law's arsenal of means for redress of grievances is limited; and the legal system cannot always effectively repair or compensate for injustice, injury or loss.

15. Legal processes are worthy of qualitative evaluation according to criteria apart from the results the legal processes are apt to produce. Such criteria or "process values" include such notions as participation, impartiality, rational deliberation, consistency and correction.

16. Civil liberty — freedom of thought, speech, press, worship, petition and association — constitute the central citadel of human freedom. With it, all other kinds of freedom become possible; without it, none of them can have any reality.

17. People develop their fullest potential in a climate of freedom. Much of civilization's advance can be traced to people's search for a larger measure of freedom. Since freedom allows individuals to develop their creative talents, a society benefits when its individual members are relatively free. Freedom is unworkable, however, unless balanced by a corresponding responsibility.

Social Content

Social systems are simply the manifestation of the fact that humans are social animals who are intelligent enough to have figured out that self and social well being are different sides of the same coin. A society is a set of relationships which we can call a system. It has a determined structure and parts or subsystems that all contribute to the functioning of the total system giving it a character quite different from the individual parts.

We understand that interactions between and among people occur on several different levels of organization. From one to one communication to inter and intrainstitutional negotiations, we must all operate within the conditions established by the system or change the system.

In a real sense, social systems have to do with connections and communications. The social system provides the linkages among social institutions like family, religion, education, and government, and it establishes the social norms, as well as, the relationships between personal and social needs, and the way in which such needs are met. The social system also establishes forms and styles of interaction including cooperative, competitive, and combative behavior.

The social system provides ways to accommodate and assimilate differences among people. That is, it finds ways to compromise or share goals and social identity. The social system provides citizens with the cultural clues to make decisions about their lives and the life of society. It is sometimes explicit about certain things like social stratification or class, and often times implicit about ideas like due/process or prejudice. Knowledge of both explicit and implicit characteristics of the system is necessary for enlightened policy making.

Social System Generalizations

1. Human survival depends on living in groups. It is through group interaction that people learn human behavior characteristics and satisfy most of their needs, material and nonmaterial. Since human beings are gregarious, any understanding of humans must include an understanding of human groups.

2. Every society consists of smaller social units such as classes, racial and ethnic groups, clubs, associations, communities and neighborhoods. People band together in a wide variety of volunteer groups to meet their needs or to pursue common interests. Each of these participates in a different way in the total culture.

3. A set of related roles which are organized to attain a given goal constitutes an institution. All societies develop specific institutions to carry out their basic functions: political, legal, economic and social. Institutions are characterized by division of labor and specialization.

4. Groups differ in their purposes, organization, heritage and size. Group membership requires that individuals assume a variety of roles in society and consequently accept varied rights, responsibilities and opportunities. Everyone belongs to many groups and, therefore, groups overlap in membership. An individual's participation in several groups, however, may produce conflicting demands. Further, any group may change its objectives and its membership. Over time, groups tend to dissociate, losing members to new groups. The individual must therefore continually assess his relationship to various groups in terms of the demands made upon him and his identity as a person.

5. Members of social groups tend to cooperate in carrying out the necessary functions of community living and attaining common goals. Individuals who cannot fully accept other members of their groups, or other groups and their norms, may accommodate to them in order to remain in the group or larger community and enjoy the benefits of membership. Individuals and groups migrating to a new environment may assimilate to it, losing their existing modes of behavior and gradually taking on those of the new society.

6. Groups exercise social control over their members through a system of norms, mores and laws. Groups enforce their control by the use of formal and informal sanctions (rewards and punishments).

7. Individuals generally operate as members of communities. Although it has a fixed geographic location, the essence of community lies in the interaction of the individuals who comprise it. They are grouped together in a locality to cooperate and compete with one another for sustenance, survival and cultural values. Modern inventions have extended and increased the communities of man.

8. Groups are interdependent and rely on one another to attain the goods and services as well as the intangibles needed to function in society. Societies also depend on one another. Increasingly, all nations in the modern world are part of a global, interdependent system of economic, social, cultural and political life.

9. No society is completely harmonious. Individuals and groups compete as well as cooperate, and in all societies conflict develops between persons and groups. Controlled conflict sometimes leads to social change which facilitates the attainment of desired goals. Whether social change constitutes progress or decline, however, ultimately depends on the perspective of the observer.

10. Every society, association or group gradually develops patterns of learned behavior accepted by and common to its membership. These patterns of beliefs, ideas,

customs, values and symbols, along with their accumulated institutions and artifacts, make up the cultural "way of life" of the society and its associations and groups.

11. Social relations are shaped by culturally defined rights and obligations shared by members of a group. Each society has a distinct culture from any other, but specific components of a given culture may also be found in different cultures.

12. Role is determined by the expectations of others. In one culture nonconformity may be regarded as leadership behavior, and in others as deviance. Man occupies different roles as he moves from group to group.

13. Within any complex society, subcultures with varying patterns of belief and behavior are found. Often these subcultures are comprised of people who have migrated and are regarded as minority groups in the larger society.

14. Status is achieved by means of the prestige attached in a culture to such differences as wealth, education, occupation, age, race, sex and family. Groups tend to become ranked by society into a hierarchy of social classes according to such status factors. They are also often the victims of discrimination and prejudice on the same basis. Complex technological societies tend toward the greatest social stratification.

15. In an open-class society, an individual may move up or down in the social system and so experience significant change through group membership. Caste systems evolve when societies become rigidly stratified and allow little, if any, significant interaction among or mobility between social groups.

16. Culture is derived from the past, but must be adapted to the circumstances and imperatives of the present. Change may result from internal social forces, such as innovation and invention, or from contact with other societies and cultures. Societies that fail to continually adapt their institutions may experience cultural lag, social disorganization or exploitation or absorption by more aggressive and rapidly developing cultures.

17. If a society is to be preserved, it must instill in its members the necessary values and goals to motivate them to sustain the culture and develop the institutions that give meaning to life, such as art, ethics and religion. Accordingly, every society must develop institutions to aid the socialization of its members. People learn the values, skills, knowledge and other aspects of behavior necessary to preserve society primarily in families, but supported by other groups, such as schools, peers and social groups and institutions. Children growing up within a society tend to learn that its behavior patterns, norms and institutions represent the "right" values and that those of other societies are "wrong" values.

18. The extent to which one may understand the attitude or behavior of another depends on the experience and the breadth of knowledge one has of the culture and individual problems of the person he is attempting to understand. By employing empathy in the face of conflict, democratic governments are able to function more efficiently.

19. Communication is basic to the existence of culture and groups. Individuals and groups communicate in a variety of ways, not simply by language. Every type of communication, however, involves symbolism with meanings that vary from one group to another. Stereotyping and ethnocentrism are serious distorting elements in the communication process.

20. Individuals are affected by the population in which they live. Many individual, social and physical problems are influenced by changes in population. These problems may involve considerations of old age, youth, war, housing, employment, famine, pollution, transportation, education, government, life styles and medical care.

21. People's social relationships and behavior are affected by their distribution in geographic space. The environment influences the way people live and people, in turn, modify their environment. As people become more technically advanced, they are less influenced by the environment and more able to shape it.

Value Systems

Within the integrated framework upon which *Our Democracy: How America Works* is constructed, values play a central role. The four systems and their attending concepts and generalizations discussed above, as well as, the content themes and policy making strategies which follow, are all encased within a value system. In a general sense, values have to do with conduct, character, and community. The role of the citizen/student is determined by cultural goals that are manifested in rules that sets limits on behavior. Through education, training, and habit we internalize these rules, and they are reflected in our conscience. This conscience, together with rules and laws of our community, guide our personal and collective behavior. Thus, the way we conduct ourselves within the community defines not only our character, but our community as well.

Values also suggest a rational system of thought and behavior. That is, as we enter the role of enlightened citizen we move toward a more rational level of behavior or achieve a kind of autonomy that says we are moral agents who can rightfully direct our own lives, and even criticize the values and rules of our society. Being a moral agent, then, has much to do with making good choices; decisions that show a deep understanding of rightful conduct, good character, and a healthful community.

Values held by society and individual participants in it are not usually consistent.

Conflict among values is normal. In different situations, different values may be more valued and have a stronger influence on behavior. Individuals are asked to simultaneously be obedient to legal authority and to question it. Individuals holding the value of human dignity can simultaneously oppose the death sentence for criminals and support abortion. Additionally, individuals adhere to societal values with varying degrees of intensity. Such inconsistencies are normal and contribute to the rich dialogue about social policy. They do not belie the validity of the role of values in shaping society, but show the complexities and subtleties of human values.

A value system within the context of our democratic republic establishes the concept of "loving critic." A loving critic is an individual citizen that can make judgments based on moral quality, on social obligation, and on personal responsibility. This citizen can give thoughtful reasons for these judgments, and evaluate their effectiveness, holding self and society responsible for movement away or toward those democratic values that guide the republic. Of course, it is not true that these and other values are held uniformly by every individual in society. While values are the cement that holds society together, it is difficult in a modern, pluralistic society to identify a list of values that is satisfying to everyone. Yet, there are values that so many individuals in society hold that, in truth, they can be spoken of as the values of that society. For purposes of instruction, the Our Democracy: How America Works Project has identified the following values as an appropriate focus for educating our next generation of citizens:

Basic Values —

Values that guide the creation and subsequent evolution and interpretation of the Constitution.

1) **Human dignity**

The worth and dignity of each person is of supreme value.

2) **Individual Freedom**

Each individual can and does make personal choices that affect his/her life and society.

Social/Institutional Values —

Supporting values that are implemented through the basic systems of our society.

3) **Rule of law**

Actions carried out with governmental power are authorized by laws promulgated through established procedures rather than being dictated by personal whim or private ambition.

4) **Consent of the governed**

The authority of the government to govern comes from the people to whom public officials are responsibilities.

5) **Property**

Each individual has the right to hold and be secure in owner ship of private property;

6) **Due process**

Before being deprived of life, liberty or property, each person is entitled to guaranteed protection of rights under the law;

7) **Equality of opportunity**

Each person has equal opportunity to fulfill his/her potential;

8) **Freedom of thought and expression**

Each person has the right to hold and express personal views in speech and behavior (freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly and petition);

9) **Pluralism**

The difference in how people choose to live their lives and their values is welcomed, respected and free from unwarranted external intrusion;

10) **Authority**

Legitimate power, recognized and sanctioned by custom, institutions, law, constitution, or morality is respected.

11) **Privacy**

The right of individuals, groups or institutions to determine, when, how and to what extent information about them is communicated to others;

12) **Justice**

Each person is entitled to fair, equal treatment under the law.

13) **Promotion of the common welfare**

Each individual has a responsibility to work to protect the political, legal, economic and social systems and freedoms enjoyed by all.

Personal Values —

Values that are implemented by individuals in their citizen role as they relate to others.

14) **Integrity**

Having soundness of moral character and acting consistently with one's values.

15) **Reasoned judgment**

Using objective, rational, and systematic reasoning processes to make logical decisions.

16) **Responsibility**

Accepting the consequences of one's choices and actions.

17) **Participation**

Actively taking part in the political, legal, economic and social systems.

18) **Patriotism**

Loving and supporting one's country through attitude and action.

19) **Tolerance**

Permitting without hindrance the expression of opinions and practices that differ from one's own.

20) **Compromise**

Being willing to settle disputes by mutual concessions.

21) **Cooperation**

Working together voluntarily for mutual benefit.

22) **Courage**

Facing difficulty and danger with firmness and without fear.

23) **Truthfulness**

Being in accord with fact or reality and free from fraud or deception.

24) **Fairness**

Treating others without dishonesty and injustice.

25) **Generosity/compassion**

Being sensitive to the welfare of others and willingness to be liberal in giving or sharing of one's resources.

Strategies for Learning

The conventional wisdom suggests that civics classes are boring. And, student boredom can lead teachers to try gimmickry as an attempt to entertain students. To move beyond boredom, students must make a psychological and social investment in learning so they can practice their academic craft and create knowledge that has everyday and long run utility. This suggests more than completing assignments or working for a grade. It demands the engagement of students in authentic learning experiences that produce meaning to self and others.

In order to accomplish the goal of meaning making, learning strategies must be used that will provide students with a high degree of responsibility for their own learning and power in deciding what to study. Learning strategies within the civic education context must help students develop knowledge of the political, legal, economic, social, and value systems in which we all must live, as well as, the skills and attitudes necessary to construct personal and public policies that will improve the well being of individual students and the community.

There are many strategies that can be used to engage students once there is enthusiasm and purpose for learning. Such strategies include, but are not limited to such practices as:

- cooperative learning
- learning logs and response journals
- debates
- simulations
- mock trials, mock legislatures
- historical/contemporary dilemmas
- role-playing
- scored discussions
- art projects/creative dramatics
- computer simulations
- inquiry based activities
- community service projects
- oral histories

All of the above learning strategies can be used to transform the civics classroom into a setting that will help students rigorously attain a content base that they can use in the construction of policies that will address private and public concerns. Strategies such as the ones suggested above demand a more active role for students; a role that will demand of them authentic, meaningful, and useful work.

Abilities for Policy Making

The four systems are naturally integrated in the real world, and its policy dilemmas. The study of issues and formulation of policies provides the context for students to integrate and use the reservoirs of knowledge cited above. In essence, this is the heart of integrated study and enlightened policy making. In order to take full advantage of the integrated model, students must develop some general abilities. These include the ability to:

1. Develop an information base from the four knowledge reservoirs;
2. Use different logical patterns and perspectives of the four knowledge reservoirs;
3. Create new knowledge through interactions among the four knowledge reservoirs;
4. Communicate and negotiate with others about data and interpretations of social issues, and
5. Make and implement personal and public policies using integrated knowledge patterns.

It is the purposeful *utilization* of these abilities within a reflective class and/or community setting that really integrates the four knowledge systems. To show how this can be done the following example is provided.

Recycling: Once is Not Enough

This example uses the topics of waste and recycling of waste to show how students' knowledge about the four systems can be integrated and used both to understand an issue and develop personal and public policy. The following student background reading and problem situation provide an example of inquiry and policy making that can engage students, and that teachers can use as models for developing their own lessons. These readings are drawn from *The Recycling Study Guide* published by the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources in 1988.

Dealing With Waste

It's Monday morning. Your alarm clock is set for 6:30 am. In anticipation of getting to school early today, you wake up fifteen minutes before the alarm goes off. Today, you and a small group of your classmates are planning to visit a recycling plant in your town and for the first time in your life you are thinking about garbage.

You rush to the bathroom and use the last of the toothpaste then throw the tube away. At breakfast you finished the last of a carton of milk with your cereal and throw it, along with a large pile of scrap paper... by products of your groups research paper, in the trash can. Leaving the house for school, you put all this trash and the rest of the week's garbage on the curb outside your house. When you come home in the afternoon, you fully expect that all the garbage will be gone, but you really never think about where it goes and who has to deal with it.

Like most U.S. citizens this year, you will throw away about 415 pounds of product packaging and another 900 pounds of paper, plastic, aluminum, and other materials. Now multiply that by the number of people in your family, in your neighborhood, city, state... you get the point. .. we create a lot of garbage!

The average state will accumulate about 7 million tons of solid waste each year! Where does it all go?

For the most part, this waste ends up in landfills. Landfills are sites for the controlled burial of solid waste. Just think about the space needed to bury approximately 350 million tons of garbage each year from our 50 states.

So what's the problem? We seem to be able to bury our garbage. Right? Wrong! We are rapidly running out of landfills. Some states and nations now "export" garbage. But the issue of space in which to put the waste is only part of the problem. Discarding waste in unsafe ways and in inappropriate places endangers the environment upon which we all depend.

Water Pollution

What happens when rainwater or melting snow seep through buried trash? A liquid called leachate forms that can flow out of the landfill. Leachate contains concentrated contaminants that can be harmful, especially if they seep into surface water and groundwater supplies. Groundwater quality is a major concern in most states. The hazardous wastes in leachate come from many sources, including items we commonly throw out at home, like motor oil, paint, garden pesticides, and household cleaners.

Hazardous Gases

Methane gas can form in landfills as a result of decomposition of organic materials like grass clipping sand food wastes. Methane is flammable and toxic, and can move through the soil into the air or into nearby basements. Recently, researchers have discovered that when some plastics and other human-made chemical decompose, they liberate small amounts of even more hazardous gases, like vinyl chloride and hydrogen sulfide.

The NIMBY Phenomenon

Finding places to put landfills isn't easy. Few people are eager to live near a landfill. This attitude is sometimes called the NIMBY phenomenon: "Not In My Back Yard!" Many people believe landfill construction and operation result in traffic, noise, dust, aesthetic loss, declining property values, ground water contamination, and other hazardous waste pollution. While fears often have been justified, modern landfill design, construction and management can minimize most of these problems.

Land Use

As we continue to make waste, the landfills are filling up, creating what has been called a "garbage crisis" in many states. It is estimated that most existing landfills will be full within 10 years. In some areas, landfills will reach capacity much sooner. Thus, the need for developing new recycling systems and landfills is increasing and urgent.

What can be done?

1. Reduce the quantity of waste produced. For example, packaging can be designed to use less material, to be recyclable and to contain fewer hazardous chemicals. We can encourage redesign of packaging by selective shopping and by expressing our views about packaging to retailers, industry and environment.

2. Reuse items. Soda bottles, old furniture, clothes, tires, appliances and automobiles or their parts, industrial shipping containers (barrels, pallets, cardboard boxes) and many more items can be reused.

3. Recycle. Recycled newspaper can be made into newsprint, paper bags, cellulose insulation, egg cartons, animal bedding or cardboard. A state beverage container deposit law (sometimes called a bottle tax) could provide the incentive to return beverage containers for a deposit. Glass and aluminum from beverage containers can be made into new containers. Cooking oils and meat fats can be made into chemicals and cosmetics, coal ash into shingles and concrete and plastic bottles into artificial lumber and winter jackets.

4. Compost organic wastes. Gardeners know both the ease and the value of composting food and yard wastes to create rich humus that improves soil fertility and texture. Some businesses also can compost their organic wastes. For example, cheese whey, organic sludges from paper mills and sewage treatment plants and remains from cleaning fish can be composited.

5. Recover energy from waste. Each ton of solid waste has the energy equivalent of 70 gallons of gasoline - enough energy to drive a small car from coast to coast.

6. Landfill nonrecoverable items. We may always need land fills. But by using the techniques described above, we can cut the need for landfills in half by 1995. A better long-term goal is a 75 percent reduction.

None of these options is the sole solution to our waste disposal problem. Each option has side effects that must be considered when we're selecting the best solution for each solid waste problem.

What Can you Do?

You can start by looking at what you throw away at home. Each person's "drop in the bucket" adds to the trash problem. If each drop becomes smaller, the problem is reduced. Everyone produces some waste. Think about the goods, services, and activities you buy or support. In what ways do they contribute to the solid waste problem? How could you purchase and dispose of items in ways that generate less trash? What can you do to voice your opinion about solid waste issues in your community? For example, consider:

- buying goods in returnable and recyclable containers.
- learning where you can take items to be recycled and showing your support by recycling.

- composting food wastes, leaves, and grass clippings.

- finding people in your town who are interested in reducing waste, promoting recycling, inventing new uses for old materials, fighting litter or encouraging local merchants to sell goods in returnable containers. How can they help you? How can you assist them?

- taking an active interest in how your solid waste management tax dollars are spent. Compare your community's hauling and disposal costs with those of neighboring towns. Investigate the quality of your local landfill and measures being taken to make it as safe and long lasting as possible.

- learning how nature recycles materials. Is much wasted?

Each of us contributes to the solid waste problem. Each of us can help solve it.

Having completed this reading, students should be presented with the following case study.

The Garbage Before Us

The city of Plenty, population 250,000, is faced with a serious problem. The two landfills that it has been using are now filled and the state cannot or will not license another landfill in the region. Further, people living around the city do not want a landfill in their area. The city of Plenty does not have a recycling law in effect although many citizens have been recycling their waste for years. Citizens also feel that their taxes are already too high and other services like schools, streets, and sewage systems are in need of financial attention.

The issue before us can be defined quite simply - how can we better handle our waste?

Questions to consider:

1. How much waste does the city of Plenty produce each year?
2. Since the landfills are full, what can the city do with its garbage?
    a. What are the choices available to the city?
    b. What are the cost and benefits of each alternative?
    c. How will individual rights and liberties be protected depending on which alternative is accepted?

3. Should the state and federal governments be involved with the county and city governments in planning for the future disposal of wastes?

4. Should citizens be responsible for their own garbage?

5. What could a 5 or 10 year waste management plan for the city of Plenty look like?

Using An Integrated Approach

Attempts to answer these types of questions call for ways to engage or use the knowledge found in our economic, political, social and legal systems. But simply picking concepts from these disciplines, while necessary, is not sufficient in formulating the personal and public policies needed to resolve the issue. These systems of knowledge need to be integrated in ways that will illuminate the issue and provide alternative policies for consideration. The important process is to first understand the issue and then to suggest social changes that move us toward a better situation.

The first task is to *imagine* a situation where because of changes in human behavior (in the city of Plenty, for example) the garbage problem could be resolved. This might included changes in laws dealing with what kinds and quantities of waste the city will pick-up; changes in the pricing of packaged goods and the types of materials used in packaging; changes in the way the laws are interpreted and enforced against people who might believe that garbage is not a serious problem; and changes in the social values that people hold toward each other and the environment.

Can such changes be imagined? Is a city where people continually try to produce less garbage possible? Where they help protect everyone's environment? Where they recycle as much of their waste as possible? Where the city is litter free? Where political and economic decisions are based on the health and beauty of the environment?

Our second task is to construct policies that will help resolve the issue. The question is: how can movement toward the ideals imagined above be achieved?

How can policy be constructed for both our personal and public lives that will help achieve the goal? Personal policy means dealing with personal behavior patterns and value premises about the relationship between the individual and society; and public policy means dealing with civic and governmental behavior and cultural premises of society.

It is clear that each of the four knowledge systems are necessary to understand economic, political, social, and legal behavior. But in order to integrate the four areas and form policies that will move us toward our goals, the five abilities suggested above must be used, as well as, a more comprehensive framework for study and action. It is suggested that the issue of waste and recycling can be understood by considering the following fundamental themes: human behavior patterns, cultural assumptions upon which behavior is rationalized or explained, the demographic realities of the setting including patterns of growth or decline, and the environmental setting or ecology of the region in question. With this background let us take a closer look at the city of Plenty and its waste problem. Using the four knowledge systems and the five student abilities, students can use the fundamental integrating themes to develop personal and public policies on the issue of waste. The following example shows how this could be done. Students would be divided into groups and given the following reading that outlines options and guides them through evaluation of those options.

Planning Waste Management

1.Imagine yourself as the mayor of Plenty. Your landfill must be closed because it doesn't comply with present standards for protecting the environment. What's Plenty going to do with all its garbage? As mayor, you're responsible for investigating new options for managing solid waste. You begin by forming a solid waste committee to study the options. Who do you think should sit on this committee (town treasurer, public works director, citizen representative, landfill developer, etc.)? Classmates can play these roles and decide on a name for the committee.

2. Call a meeting of the committee. Your assistant has prepared the chart, "Managing Garbage From Homes," to help members see some options and impacts of managing garbage.

Study the following chart and, as a group, consider the following questions:

- At first glance, which waste disposal option seems best? Why? Do you all agree? Is there one best option? What are the economic costs? Political costs?

- What criteria and values are you using to judge options? Are you pro-business, pro-taxpayer, pro-environment, pro-convenience? Discuss how your personal points of view might influence how you judge the importance of each potential impact.

- For how many years into the future are you planning? Why is this an important consideration (population growth, long-term economic, and environmental impacts, etc.)?

- How big is 52,000 cubic yards? How much space will you need if you choose to landfill garbage for that many years?

- Compare the pros and cons of citizen convenience and environmental impacts for each option. Do you consider citizen convenience more important than environmental impacts or vice versa? Why? How does your view affect which option you would choose? Should saving money be your only concern?

- Does this chart calculate in the "costs" of each option's long-term

Table Two

Managing Garbage From Homes: Options & Impacts*

Option	No. of employees	Landfill needs/yr. *(cubic yards)*	Net Cost ($/yr.) *(includes sale of any energy produced)*	Amount of Energy *(gallons of gas equivalent)*	Environmental Issues	Citizen Convenience
a) Landfill everything *(landfill 15 miles away)*	Collection............40 Landfill................ 2 Total 42	52,000 yd'	Collection........$1,300,000 Landfill................520,000 Total $1,820,000	Collection..........30,000 gal. Landfill.............13,000 Total Saved 43,000 gal.	• is unattractive • uses land • can pollute water & air • can create hazardous gases *(methane)* • bury / lose natural resources	• just put waste at curb
b) Voluntary Recycling Curbside pickup of: glass, newsprint, plastic, aluminum. Landfill remainder.	Collection............44 Recycling Center. 8 Landfill................ 2 Total 54	47,000 yd'	Collection........$1,400,000 Recycling *(profit)* 10,000 Landfill................470,000 Total $1,860,000	Collection...........33,000 gal Recycling *(saves)* 300,000 Landfill.............12,000 Total Saved 255,000 gal.	• reduces impacts at landfill • reduces pollution from manufacturing • reuses natural resources	• need to separate recyclables • builds good habits
c) Mandatory Recycling *(as in "b" above)*	Collection............48 Recycling Cntr.....15 Landfill................ 2 Total 65	42,000 yd'	Collection........$1,500,000 Recycling *(profit)*.......60,000 Landfill................420,000 Total $1,860,000	Collection...........36,000 gal Recycling *(saves)* 600,000 Landfill.............9,000 Total Saved 555,000 gal.	same as voluntary recycling above	• need to separate recyclables • requires enforcement for non-compliance • builds good habits
d) Mandatory Composting of yard waste. Landfill remainder *(#'s assume 1/2 yard waste is composted at home)*	Collection............42 Composting......... 1 Landfill................ 2 Total 45	45,000 yd'	Collection........$1,350,000 Composting...........50,000 Landfill................450,000 Total $1,850,000	Collection...........33,000 gal Composting.........1,000 Landfill.............10,000 Total Saved 44,000 gal.	• reduces need for landfill • reduces methane gas pollution reduces strenght of leachate • produces fertile humus • reuses natural resources	• need to separate yard waste • builds good habits
d) Incinerate for energy recovery. Landfill ash & non-burnables. *(incinerator in town)*	Collection............38 Incinerator............12 Landfill................ 1 Total 51	10,000 yd'	Collection........$1,250,000 Incineration..........750,000 Landfill................200,000 Total $2,200,000	Collection.............28,000 gal Incinerator.........840,000 *(produces)* Landfill...............2,000 Total Produced 810,000 gal.	• reduces need for landfill • produces fly ash, high in heavy metals that requires special handling • produces air pollutants • consumes natural resources	• just put waste at curb

**Example compares costs for a community producing 100 tons/day, 5 days/week.*
Numbers presented are realistic but not specific to any one community.
Other options and combinations of options exist.

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environmental impacts or use of natural resources? What might these "costs" be? How much should your committee be concerned about these "costs" in making your decision? How easy is it to put a dollar value on environmental damage?

- If creating jobs is high on your list of priorities, which option would you choose? What do you think about the often-made statement that recycling eliminates jobs? You have read somewhere about composting municipal solid waste. Where can you find out more about composting? Why might your community consider composting as a valid option for waste disposal? Which wastes could be composted?

- What are the pros and cons of incineration? Do you think the benefits (landfill space saved, energy produced, convenient) outweigh the costs (landfill still necessary, toxic ash and air pollutants produced, expensive)? What are the experiences of other communities that already have installed incineration compare with those of recycling?

- Recycling newsprint sounds like a great way to save landfill space and trees. But you've heard that some newspapers use ink that contains lead, a hazardous metal. What happens to this lead when the paper is land filled, recycled, composted, burned? What have newspaper manufacturers substituted for lead inks?

3. Investigate what is required by local, state, and federal laws for choosing the waste management option(s) for Plenty (e.g., public hearing, citizen referendum, environmental impact statement).

4. Do you feel you have enough information to make a wise decision for your city? If not, where can you find this information?

5. Now that your committee has investigated and discussed the options for solid waste management plan, make a decision about which option(s) the city should enact.

6. List suggestions for what you can do to ensure the success of the new waste management plan (e.g., community education, providing containers for recycling).

Evaluating Consequences

As policies are formulated consideration must be given to how these policies (usually stated as laws or ordinances) will affect citizens' patterns of behavior, the social or cultural premises of citizens, demographic patterns, and the relative quality of the environment. We know, for example, that if we want most citizens to produce less waste, to recycle most of it, and to purchase goods in ways that will enhance these efforts, then their behavior patterns and assumptions about garbage will have to change. How can city policy do this? How can the economic, political, social, and legal systems be understood as a unity or larger system, and how can the academic disciplines that roughly correspond to these systems help us in the development of policy, taking into the account behavior, cultural assumptions, demography, and the environment?

Consider the following questions:

- How would you change behavior of citizens toward waste management?

When considering changes in the behavior of citizens and the role of the four knowledge systems, we can ask what economic, political, legal, and social concepts should be used to understanding and/or implement changes in behavior?

Political: *influence, power, decision-making, etc.*
Legal: *court injunctions, due process, justice, etc.*
Economics: *prices, tradeoffs, convenience, opportunity costs, savings, etc.*
Social: *peer pressure, social values, etc.*

- How would you change the cultural premises/assumptions of citizens and institutions relative to waste and waste management?

When considering changes in cultural assumptions and the role of the four knowledge systems, we can ask what political, legal, economic, and social concepts should be used to understand and/or implement changes in cultural assumptions?

Economic: *long and short run costs and benefits, etc.*
Political: *grass roots support, majority rule, etc.*
Legal: *property rights, public responsibility, etc.*
Social: *public good, private conveniences, etc.*

- How would you show the demographic patterns of your community and its relationship to the waste management issue?

When considering demographic patterns and the role of the four knowledge systems, we can ask what political, legal, economic and social concepts should be used to understand these trends?

Political: *voting patterns, etc.*
Legal: *individual rights and responsibilities, etc.*
Economic: *capitol, labor, employment, infrastructure, land use etc.*
Social: *age patterns, social status, etc.*

- How would you enhance the conceptions of the ecosystem held by citizens?

When considering the ecosystem and the role of the four knowledge systems, we can ask what economic, political, legal, and social concepts should be used to enhance the understanding of the environment?

Political: *influence, power, environmental laws, etc.*
Legal: *property (water) rights, social responsibility, etc.*
Economics: *land use, trade offs, investment, etc.*
Social: *public health and welfare, etc.*

Using This Model

This model for using and integrating the economic, legal, political, and social systems can be used in a number of different ways. And, all aspects of the model do not have to be used with equal intensity. What is important, however, is the use of a pattern of study and the following policy-making strategies:

1. The presentation of the issue should be set within the context of a more ideal state or situation against which the present or real setting can be evaluated. Doing so requires the use and examination of values upon which the more ideal state is based.

2. Political, legal, economic, and social knowledge should be used in the study of the issue and in the creation of personal and public policies developed to resolve the issue.

3. The issue should be studied within an integrating framework that addresses the themes of human behavior patterns, cultural assumptions, demographics, and environmental setting.

4. Personal and public policies should be developed and shared that will help move the individual, community, or society from the present (real) situation toward the more ideal setting envisioned in number one above.

Taken together these four operations or strategies can help us imagine a better condition, use our reflective abilities, and the knowledge of our political, legal, economic, and social systems within an integrating framework to create policies that will help change present problems and settings into more ideal conditions. Used in conjunction with other teaching strategies, this model provides a means for educating and empowering students to become effective members of a democratic society.

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Appendix A: Political, Legal, Economic and Social Concepts for Civic Education

Political Concepts

Authoritarian Systems

Authoritarian systems are forms of government that view authority as something exercised over the people rather than derived from them. The source of authority is external to the people (God, qualities of the ruler, force, etc.) and flows unilaterally from rulers to ruled, whose status is that of subjects. The scope of political authority is unlimited.

Related concepts:
Autocracy
Dictatorship
Fascism
Nazism
Totalitarianism

Authority

Authority is the power to command behavior. Political leaders possess authority when they are able to make decisions and laws that are binding for the citizens within the political system. Individuals or groups may attain authority in a variety of ways, including election by the people, appointment by leaders, or seizure of authority by force. For a political system to function smoothly, it is necessary for authority to be legitimate, otherwise authorities must expend great energies simply to enforce their decisions.

Related concepts:
Authoritarianism
Constitutionalism
Legitimacy

Constitutional Systems

Constitutional systems are forms of government that view authority as derived from the people, whose status is that of citizens. Authority flows reciprocally, and is exercised over the people by leaders who are held accountable for their actions. The scope of political authority is limited, and is usually codified in a constitution or other charter(s) delineating relationships between rulers and ruled.

Related concepts:	Constitutional monarchy Democracy Parliamentary democracy Representative government Republic

Government

Government is an agency that is used by the state to maintain social control. Government is the institution through which the state makes and enforces laws that are binding on all people living in the state.

Related concepts:	Authority Law Power Social control State

Interest Group

A group of people who share common policy interest or goals and organize to influence the government to carry out their goals, principally through lobbying public officials is known as an interest group.

Related concepts:	Lobbying Political party

Legitimacy

A government is regarded as legitimate when the citizens affected by its policy accept its authority as valid. Democracy is built upon a social contract and derives its strength from voluntary compliance, the continuing free choice by every citizen to enforce government's decisions on themselves. Our system of law is legitimate to the extent that it is based upon the consent of the people.

Related concepts:	Consent of the governed Popular sovereignty

Political Culture

The attitudes, beliefs and perceptions that citizens have toward politics within a given state constitutes its political culture. Political cultures vary greatly from nation to nation.

Related concept:	Political socialization

Political Party

A political party is a coalition of individuals and groups with broad common interests who organize to nominate candidates for public office, win elections, conduct government and determine public policy.

Related concepts:	Elections Government Interest group

Political Socialization

Political socialization is the process through which individuals acquire their attitudes, beliefs and perceptions of the political system. Agents of political socialization include the family, schools, mass media, peers and social groups and institutions.

Related concept:	Political culture

Political System

The political system is the complex of processes and institutions that makes binding decisions for society as a whole. Essential components of a political system are: the people who are governed, authoritative officials, a political selection process, a structure of government, a policy-making process and authoritative policy. Power may be widely distributed or concentrated in one or a few of these components.

Related concepts:	Consent of the governed Power Legitimacy

Power

Power is the ability of an individual or group to influence, change, modify or in some other way affect the behavior of others. Politics is the struggle for power, and political activity is found wherever there are power relationships or conflicts.

Related concepts:	Authority Conflict Influence Interest group Political party

Social Control

In order to attain its goals and to provide an environment in which individuals and groups can satisfy their wants and needs, every society must have means of controlling the behavior of its members. Social control is maintained by the laws and rules that emerge within every society and institution. The laws that regulate behavior within a society are usually found in written documents such as legal codes and constitutions.

Related concepts:	Constitution Law Social contract

State

The state is a political community that occupies a geographically and legally defined territory, and has an organized government with the power to make and enforce laws without approval from any higher authority.

Related concepts:	Authority Government Power

Legal Concept

Due Process *(Procedural)*

In a democratic society, every citizen is entitled to a fair and impartial process in the administration and application of law(s) to personal and/or group conflicting claims.

Related concepts:	Equal protection Substantive due process

Ethics

The system of moral principles and values which provide the fundamental ideas of the social contract and the criteria for social justice. Ethics allow citizens to understand the philosophical base for the legal system and suggests to each citizen that he or she is related to every other citizen in terms of rights and responsibilities.

Related concepts:	Equality Fairness Individual freedom Human dignity Truth

Freedom

In a democracy, citizens should have the right and ability to act and to make independent choices of their own volition, limited only by the extent to which their actions impact on others and/or society as a whole.

Related concept: Social responsibility

Justice

In a democracy, justice pertains to the administration and maintenance of what is just, right or fair. Each citizen is entitled to equal treatment under the law, with conflicting claims impartially adjudicated.

Related concepts: Due process
Equality
Fairness

Law

Laws are society's formal, codified rules of behavior, infractions of which result in formal penalties. Laws grow out of people's norms, customs and values and are imposed over those areas of social life which are too important to be left to the custody of informal controls. In a democratic society, the rule of law helps maintain individual rights and avoid arbitrary power. A body of law continually grows and changes as society's mores, customs and values grow and change.

Related concepts: Civil law
Common law
Criminal law
International law
Natural law

Legal System

The use of power and authority within a framework of societal values and human rights under the rule of law constitutes the legal system of democracy.

Related concepts: Adversarial
Courts
Inquisitorial
Jurisdiction

Privacy

Individuals, groups or institutions must be allowed to act as they see fit, free from unwarranted interference and disclosure of information about them, so long as their actions do not interfere with the rights of others.

Related concepts: Ethics
Order
Responsibility

Property

In a democratic society, the legal system guarantees the exclusive right to possess, enjoy and dispose of private property so long as no interference occurs with the rights of others.

Related Concepts: Civil law
Criminal law
Rights

Responsibility

Every citizen, group and institution (including government) must be held legally accountable for their conduct and obligations.

Related concepts: Contract
Culpability
Liability

Social Contract

The rights and responsibilities of every citizen are inextricably joined and form the framework for a democratic system of government in which everyone is held responsible for his or her actions. This framework or "contract" is based upon a society's basic need for order. The Constitution of the United States provides the basis for our political, legal, economic and social systems.

Related concepts: Constitution
Order
Privileges
Responsibility
Rights

Economic Concepts

Competition

Competition exists when many sellers have the same or similar products for sale in the marketplace. Competition in markets is a healthy activity. Competition reduces costs and rewards efficiency by encouraging sellers to provide the highest quality goods and services at the lowest possible prices, providing consumers have freedom of choice.

Related concepts: Entrepreneurship
Free enterprise
Innovation
Price

Economic System

Every society develops an economic system to respond to the problem of scarcity. Economic systems exist to provide answers to three basic economic questions: what should be produced; how should it be produced; and how should it be distributed? Traditional, command and market are the three basic types of economic system. Traditional economies address fundamental economic questions by means of tradition and custom; command systems address them by central planning and decision making; in market systems, economic decisions are made through the interactions of producers and consumers, guided by their own self-interest, in a free market process with a minimum of government intervention. Modern economic systems are "mixed," in that they contain elements of each of the three. The ability of an economic system to meet societal demands ultimately depends on the availability of factors of production.

Related concepts: Capitalism
Communism
Distribution
Production

Exchange

Interdependence creates the need for a mechanism of exchange to facilitate the transfer of resources, goods and services between individuals, regions and nations (international trade). The exchange may be the direct trading of one thing for another as in barter, or it may involve a medium of exchange such as money. When exchange is voluntary, both parties believe they have gained.

Related concepts: Barter
Credit
Money

Factors of Production

Factors of production are the things it takes to create goods and services. These include natural resources (the basic gifts of nature), human resources (physical and mental labors supplied by people) and capital resources (tools and machines). In addition, time, which cannot be regained or stored, and space, which affects ease of communication and transportation, are important factors influencing the productivity of resources.

Related concepts: Non-renewable resources
Productivity
Renewable resources

Government Regulation

In order to achieve socially determined goals, the government can and does modify the economy by intervention and regulation. In the United States, basic economic goals include freedom of choice, efficiency, equity, full employment, price stability, economic growth and consumer protection. Major means of government management of the economy are fiscal policy (taxing, borrowing and spending decisions), monetary policy (control of interest rates and the money supply) and regulatory policy (enforcement of standards, e.g. weights and measures, the purity of food and drugs, etc.)

Related concepts: Federal Reserve System
Money supply
Public sector
Subsidy
Taxes

Incentives

Incentives are factors that motivate or influence human behavior. People respond to incentives in predictable ways. Economic incentives work by offering financial rewards for certain behavior. Consumers seek to maximize their satisfaction, workers their wages, producers their profits and investors their return. Manipulating incentives is a powerful way to influence the economy.

Related concepts: Entrepreneurship
Free enterprise
Investment
Profit
Return on investment

Interdependence

Specialization causes people to become more dependent on one another. Once independent individuals, regions and nations must now depend on others to produce the goods and services that formerly they either provided for themselves or did without. Interdependence is increasingly a global economic phenomenon.

Related concepts: Absolute advantage
Comparative advantage

Market

The market is the principle feature of a market economy. It is the process by which the three basic economic questions are answered, via the many buying and selling decisions freely made by producers and consumers. The forces of supply and demand interact, seeking an equilibrium, and register the decision through the price. Self-interest makes the market system work. By raising or lowering the rewards provided for using resources in a particular way, the market directs resources toward the most productive ends.

Related concepts: Equilibrium
Supply and demand

Opportunity Cost

Scarcity necessitates choices at the individual and societal levels about how scarce resources can best be used. When a decision is made to use a resource in a particular way, alternative uses are foreclosed. The value of a decision measured in terms of the most desirable alternative given up is its opportunity cost.

Related concepts: Benefits
Costs
Trade-offs

Price

Price is value expressed in terms of money. Price provides a means for easily and clearly determining value and can reflect changes in value quickly. Thus, prices are signals to producers, households, workers and savers that influence their decisions. Prices also are the principal mechanism for allocating goods and services among consumers and productive resources among producers.

Related concept: Demand and demand

Scarcity

Scarcity is the condition that exists because human wants are unlimited, but the resources to produce all of the goods and services we could desire are limited. This inevitable imbalance between wants and resources is the basic economic problem of all societies.

Related concepts:	Wants Needs

Specialization

Efficient use of scarce resources requires specialization, concentrating effort on what an individual or society does best. Occupational and regional specialization increases the productivity of existing resources, making it possible to produce more of the goods and services people want.

Related concepts:	Division of labor Efficiency Industrialization

Supply and Demand

The laws of supply and demand state relationships between quantities demanded by consumers and quantities producers are willing to supply at a given time, assuming all other conditions are held constant. The law of demand holds that as the price of a good or service declines, the amount buyers demand at each price increases. Conversely, as the price rises, the amount buyers demand at each price decreases. The law of supply holds that as the price of a good or service increases, the amount that producers are willing to offer at each price increases. Conversely, as the price decreases, the amount producers are willing to offer at each price decreases. The tendency in the economy is for the quantity demanded and the quantity supplied to move toward an equilibrium price at which the quantity producers are willing to offer and consumers are willing to buy is identical.

Related concept:	Marginality

Trade-Off

The choices necessitated by scarcity are rarely either/or propositions. Rather, they usually involve trade-offs, accepting or choosing less of one thing in order to get more of something else. We do not choose between bread and chocolates, but rather between relative amounts of bread and chocolates.

Related concept:	Marginality

Social System Concepts

Community

A community exists when a group of people live in close geographical proximity, are socially interdependent, participate together in discussion and decision making and share a sense of belonging. A sense of shared identity in tandem with a recognition of reciprocal rights and obligations among all members is the essence of community.

Related concepts: Rights
Socialization

Culture

Culture is the way of living which any society develops to meet its fundamental needs. It is the learned, socially transmitted heritage of beliefs, ideas, customs, values, symbols and artifacts shared by a people in a society. In short, it is everything people think, do, and have as members of society. Each society has a distinct culture from any other, although specific components of a given culture may also be found in different cultures.

Related concepts: Norm
Socialization
Values

Group

A group consists of two or more people interacting over a period of time with an awareness of some commonality. It is through group interaction that people learn human behavior characteristics and satisfy most of their needs, material and nonmaterial. Since human beings are gregarious, any understanding of humans must include an understanding of human groups.

Related concepts: Interdependence
Norm

Institution

Institutions are complex sets of roles, norms and laws which are integrated around the major functions (or needs) of society. Institutions are characterized by division of labor and specialization. All societies are composed of political, economic, legal and social institutions. Sets of institutions comprise social systems.

Related concepts: Need
Social System

Interdependence

In all societies man lives in groups, and individuals, families, communities, organizations and other groups help each other to meet their basic needs. People help each other attain the goods and services, as well as the intangibles needed to function in society. Societies also help each other. Increasingly, all nations in the modern world are part of a global interdependent system of economic, social, cultural and political life.

Related concepts:	Specialization Society

Norm

A norm is a standard of appropriate behavior developed by the group to which members are expected to conform. Norms considered vital to a society's very existence are known as "mores." Norms not only vary across societies and through time, but sometimes between different social classes and within different subcultures in the same society.

Related concept: Values

Role

A role is an expected behavior pattern which accompanies a particular social position. Each day almost everyone must function in many different roles, and frequently they conflict with one another. College professors, for example, are expected to be prepared to teach when their classes meet, yet family responsibilities may prevent proper preparation for class.

Sanction

Sanctions are formal or informal means of social control, consisting of either rewards or punishments, by which the group encourages conformity to norms and role expectations and discourages deviance from them. Groups employ a wide variety of pressures and controls to ensure that norms are obeyed, from informal mechanisms such as praise and ostracism to formal laws and their attendant legal sanctions. Although individuals violate norms every day, more often they are conformed to because during socialization most of the norms and values of a culture are internalized.

Related concepts:	Law Social control

Social Change

All human societies are constantly in a state of change. Change itself is a neutral process; whether it constitutes progress or decline depends on the perspective of the observer. Change results from contact between cultures and interactions among groups within cultures. Modern means of communication and transportation have made possible a broad distribution of cultural items and ideas, and have been a primary agent of social change. Innovation, as a means of confronting political, economic and social problems, is also an important factor in social change.

Social Processes

Societies develop according to recurrent sequences of interaction called social processes. The most basic such processes are social interaction and communication. These general processes give rise to more specialized processes such as: association, dissociation and stratification; cooperation and accommodation; competition and conflict; and assimilation.

Socialization

Very little human behavior is innate. Every society is therefore faced with the necessity of teaching its children values, skills, knowledge and other aspects of behavior necessary for the preservation of the society. Socialization describes the process through which associations with other humans prepares the child to function successfully within society.

Related concepts: Community
Institutions
Society

Society

Society is the all-encompassing group. It is a relatively large, self-sufficient social group which shares a common culture and maintains a structured system of social interaction. A group qualifies as a society if it seems likely that it would be able to continue in substantially its present form through subsequent generations if all other communities in the world suddenly disappeared.

Status

Power, property, prestige and other rewards in society are not equally shared. Some individuals are more powerful and influential than others. An individual's status is not necessarily a reflection of one's contributions to the society. Although social position may be gained through one's own efforts (achieved), it can also be given to one on the basis of age, sex, race, birth, etc. (ascribed). Broad segments of a society whose members share a common status are known as social classes.

Related concepts: Culture
Social class

Values

Values are the ideals or behaviors to which the group attaches a high worth or regard. Values are the standards of choice that guide the community toward meaningful and desirable ends. As such, they are inevitably present as a part of the human experience, functioning as the criteria by which thought and action are oriented, assessed and justified. The norms and sanctions in a society are expressions of its values

Related concepts: Ethics
Norm
Sanctions

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